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The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS

XII

12-14

PROCEEDINGS

For the Year 1917 - 1919

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
Published by the Society
1925

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OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1916–1917

President	William Roscoe Thayer
Vice-Presidents	Andrew McFarland Davis Worthington Chauncey Ford Hollis Russell Bailey
Secretary	Samuel Francis Batchelder
Treasurer	Henry Herbert Edes
Curator	Edward Locke Gookin

Council

Hollis Russell Bailey	Edward Locke Gookin
Samuel Francis Batchelder	Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
Frank Gaylord Cook	George Hodges
Richard Henry Dana	William Coolidge Lane
Henry Herbert Edes	Alice Mary Longfellow
Worthington Chauncey Ford	Fred Norris Robinson

William Roscoe Thayer

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FORTIETH MEETING

THE FORTIETH MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held 23 January, 1917, at the residence of the Misses Horsford, 27 Craigie Street, Cambridge.

The President called the meeting to order. The minutes of the last meeting were read and allowed.

On motion of Richard Henry Dana it was

Voted that the Chair appoint a committee of three to examine the present storage and indexing of the original papers in the early court and county files, other than probate registry and registry of deeds, at East Cambridge, to confer with the proper authorities as to the better care and accessibility of the same, and to report back to this Society.

On the above committee the Chair appointed Messrs. Hollis Russell Bailey, Frank Gaylord Cook, and Henry Herbert Edes.

A paper by MARK ANTHONY DE WOLFE HOWE was read by Mrs. Howe, giving extracts from the journal of Mary Sophia Quincy, daughter of President Quincy, describing Commencement Day, 1829.[1] As a supplement to this paper, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE read the accounts of the same occasion in the *New England Palladium* and in the "Class Book" of 1829 (printed, pp. 13–22, *post*), also an account of Class Day in that year by Horatio Cooke Meriam.

[1] Printed in *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, xxvi, 575–583.

Dean George Hodges read extracts from the proceedings of the "Kappa Delta" society of Cambridge, 1804–1818.[1]

A paper by the Reverend Samuel McChord Crothers was read by Richard Henry Dana, giving a personal appreciation of our late Vice-President, Archibald Murray Howe. (Printed, pp. 23–24, *post.*)

The meeting then dissolved.

[1] Printed in Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, vol. 50, page 123.

FORTY-FIRST MEETING

THE FORTY-FIRST MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held 1 May, 1917, at the residence of the Reverend George Hodges, 3 Mason Street, Cambridge.

The President called the meeting to order. The minutes of the last meeting were read and allowed.

The President announced the gift from Miss Clara Howe of a copy of the famous "Whist Club" picture, showing portraits of John Holmes, James Russell Lowell, Estes Howe, and Robert Carter. Also the gift from Miss Alice Mary Longfellow of an account book kept by Andrew Craigie in 1792. He also announced the award of the Longfellow Centenary Prize medal for 1917 to Dorothy Henderson of the Cambridge English High School. (Printed, pp. 46–50, *post.*) As expressing the Society's attitude in the present crisis of the nation's history, he offered the following resolutions, which, upon motion of Hollis Russell Bailey, were unanimously adopted:

Resolved: that the Cambridge Historical Society approve the action of President Wilson and of Congress, in declaring war upon Germany — action whereby the United States takes its stand with the democracies of the world, and supports the principles of Liberty, Humanity, and Justice on which this nation was founded.

Resolved: that the Administration be urged to prosecute the war with all energy and promptness, and to seek with our Allies such combinations as will bring victory to our cause.

Resolved: that as a war measure we approve of the plan to adopt temporary prohibition, which will save the food supply and promote efficient soldiering.

On motion of Frank Gaylord Cook it was

Voted that a copy of the above resolutions be sent to the President of the United States.

The speaker of the evening, President Charles William Eliot, then gave "Personal Recollections of Dr. Morrill Wyman, Professor Dunbar, Professor Sophocles, and Professor Shaler." (Printed, pp. 25–45, *post*.)

After expressing the Society's appreciation of Dean Hodges' hospitality, the President declared the meeting dissolved.

FORTY-SECOND MEETING

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE FORTY-SECOND MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, being the thirteenth annual meeting, was held 23 October, 1917, at the residence of Professor FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Longfellow Park, Cambridge.

The President called the meeting to order. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Voted that the President appoint a committee of three to consider and report a list of nominations for the officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

On this committee the President appointed Walter Deane, Miss Alice Durant Smith, and Francis Webber Sever.

The Secretary read the annual report of the Council, with which by their request was included his own annual report. (Printed, pp. 51–57, *post.*)

Voted that the above reports be accepted and placed on file.

The Curator read his annual report, which was accepted. (Printed, pp. 58–62, *post.*)

The Treasurer read his annual report, which was accepted and placed on file. (Printed, pp. 63–64, *post.*)

The Committee on nominations brought in the following report:

President	WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER
Vice-Presidents	ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY
Secretary	SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER
Treasurer	HENRY HERBERT EDES
Curator	EDWARD LOCKE GOOKIN

Council

Hollis Russell Bailey	Edward Locke Gookin
Samuel Francis Batchelder	Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
Frank Gaylord Cook	George Hodges
Richard Henry Dana	William Coolidge Lane
Andrew McFarland Davis	Alice Mary Longfellow
Henry Herbert Edes	Fred Norris Robinson
Worthington Chauncey Ford	William Roscoe Thayer

The above were duly elected as the officers of the Society for 1917–1918.

The President made a brief address, urging that all members coöperate with the Council in furthering the aims and success of the Society. He introduced as the speaker of the evening Professor William Morris Davis, who delivered an address upon the "Historical Aspects of the Geology and Geography of Cambridge." [1]

During the discussion which followed, the speaker suggested, as an interesting historical record of life in Cambridge during 1917, that the scheme carried out a few years ago by a number of members of the Harvard Faculty be adopted by this Society, and that each member should record in detail his or her daily life for a period of one month, these records to be placed in a hermetically sealed case, not to be opened until the year 1967.

Voted that the above suggestion be referred to the Council for consideration and report.

The meeting then dissolved.

[1] Publication refused.

CLASS DAY, COMMENCEMENT AND PHI BETA KAPPA DAY, 1829

(From the "Class Book" of 1829)

Records of the Class Day.

July 14, 1829

The Class met at 9 A. M. to hear prayers. The Chaplain elect being absent, Mr. James Thurston officiated in his stead. An appropriate prayer was by him offered, which was of much interest to the hearers in their peculiar and especial situations.

The Class then adjourned for a few moments, and met again and formed in procession in front of Holworthy; we then marched down to the President's study, and escorted the Government to the College Chapel.

After devotional services by Dr. Ward, President Quincy announced, "Expectatur Oratio." G. H. Devereux then delivered an Oration which did full credit to his abilities and to his Class. He spoke in course of those who had been removed from us by death, and particularly of Sturgis. The performance was marked by fine thoughts and the Orator's usual elegant language. He was followed by Holmes in a humourous and characteristic Poem the chief objection to which was its brevity; we know that this is "the soul of wit" and so it appeared to be in this case. After the poem, Angier rose in his seat and commenced a song written by Clarke and set to the old College tune, "Auld Lang Syne," the Class joining in the Chorus. The effect was excellent. Many have since spoken in high praise of it, and our Class enjoys the credit of adding another performance to those which already characterize the day.

The performances having concluded, the Class escorted the Government back to the President's house, to take a parting glass and bid farewell to our former masters; now so no longer.

On our return to the College Yard we sang a few songs and separated at the ringing of the dinner bell.

Saml. May, Jr., *Secy.*

CLASS OF 1829 — COMMENCEMENT

AUGUST 26, 1829

A memorable day for the Class of 1829; it being that on which they were freed from the thraldom of the College Government and of College duties.— In fine we graduated — took our degrees of "Baccalaurei Artium" — and went into the wide world to shape our course as we best might.

The parts, as it becomes the Secretary to say, were all of the first order. We all regretted the indisposition of our brother Benj. R. Curtis which deprived us of the pleasure of hearing his unquestionable very excellent part. (The "Order of Exercises" may be found at page 224. The *New England Palladium's* Critique on our Commencement Exercises may be found at p. 85.) [1]

In the evening, preceded by the "Boston Brigade Band" we marched up to Fresh Pond Hotel where Mr. Wyeth (who will ever flourish in our recollections of College scenes) had provided a most superb supper.— Our wines, which were Claret, Champaigne, and Madeira, were selected from the cellars of Messrs. Meriam and Brigham by the Committee of Arrangements, and were of course the very best.— As we waxed merry, we consequently became proportionally witty and melodious; after each separate toast the Band played some appropriate air, many and most of which were most enthusiastically encored. The songs which followed each other in quick succession were the cream of that excellent class of Songs denominated College Songs; which class comprises in fact every description which were ever written — Most of the toasts (which I regret having forgotten) and particularly those given by our worthy brother Edw. D. Sohier were extremely witty.— We broke up in pretty good order and returned to Cambridge without the occurrence of any accident.

SAML. MAY, JR., *Secy.*

[1] These references are to the pages of the the "Class Book."

ORDER OF EXERCISES

FOR

COMMENCEMENT

XXVI AUGUST, MDCCCXXIX

Exercises of Candidates for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts.

*** The performers will speak in the order of their names.

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1. A Salutatory Oration in Latin. CHARLES FAY, *Cambridge.*

2. A Conference. "Novels formed upon Fashionable, Humble, and Sea Life."

   FRANCIS AUGUSTUS FOXCROFT, *Cambridge.*
   CHARLES LOWELL HANCOCK, *Boston.*
   JOSHUA WARD, *Salem.*

3. A Colloquial Disscussion. "An Active Profession, as injuring or assisting the Efforts of a Literary Man."

   WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, *Cambridge.*
   JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, *Boston.*

4. A Conference. "The Efforts to abolish War, Duelling, and Abuses of Controversy."

   CURTIS CUTLER, *Lexington.*
   SOLOMON MARTIN JENKINS, *Easton, Md.*
   ALBERT LOCKE, *Ashby.*

5. A Colloquial Discussion. "The Comparative Influence of Governments and Individuals in effecting great Public Improvements."

   JAMES TAYLOR, *Leominster.*
   GEORGE TYLER BIGELOW, *Watertown.*

6. An Essay. "Incorporating Historical Truth with Fiction."

GEORGE WILLIAM PHILLIPS, *Boston.*

7. A Conference. "Natural, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History, considered in relation to the Tendency of each to improve and elevate the Intellectual Faculty."

GEORGE THOMAS DAVIS, *Sandwich.*
JOSIAH QUINCY LORING, *Boston.*
SAMUEL RIPLEY TOWNSEND, *Waltham.*
EDWIN CONANT, *Sterling.*

8. A Philosophical Discussion. "The Influence of Lord Bacon's Writings on the Progress of Knowledge."

SAMUEL DEVENS, *Charlestown.*
WILLIAM BRIGHAM, *Grafton.*

9. A Poem. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, *Cambridge.*

10. A Literary Discussion. "An Author's writing many Books, or Resting his Fame upon a few."

SAMUEL FRANCIS SMITH, *Boston.*
JAMES THURSTON, *Exeter.*

11. A Dissertation. "The Encouragement to Young Men to educate themselves Exclusively or chiefly for high Political Offices."

EDWARD LINZEE CUNNINGHAM, *Boston.*

12. A Forensic Disputation. "Whether the Inequalities of Genius in different Countries be owing to Moral Causes."

JOEL GILES, *Townsend.*
CHANDLER ROBBINS, *Roxbury.*

13. A Dissertation. "Originality of Thought, Supposed to be necessarily lessened as the World grows older."

GEORGE HUMPHREY DEVEREUX, *Salem.*

14. A Forensic Disputation. "Whether inflicting Capital Punishments publicly has any Tendency to diminish Crime."

BENJAMIN PEIRCE, *Cambridge.*
JAMES HUMPHREY WILDER, *Hingham.*

15. An Oration in English. "The Character of Lord Bacon."

BENJAMIN ROBBINS CURTIS, *Cambridge.*

16. A Dissertation. "Modes of publishing, circulating, and perpetuating Literary Works in different Ages and Countries."

WILLIAM GRAY, *Boston.*

17. An Oration in English. "The Diversities of Character."

CHARLES STORER STORROW, *Boston.*

Exercises of Candidates for the Degree of Master of Arts.

1. An Oration in English. "Literary Justice."

MR. TIMOTHY WALKER.

2. A Valedictory Oration in Latin.

MR. JOHN HAM WILLIAMS PAGE.

(From the *New England Palladium*)
Boston, Friday, August 28, 1829

COMMENCEMENT AT CAMBRIDGE

On Wednesday, the 26th, a cool, bright day, the exercises of the graduating class were witnessed by a throng of fashion and literary connoisseurs, who made ample amends for the lack of brilliancy, if indeed any such deficiency could be imagined where all were beautiful, by density. The "knarled and unwedgeable oak" is no bad representation of a mass of beauty, worth, intelligence, embodied in some thousands of shapes, once separate, but now, by the power of literary attraction, drawn into the old meeting house in Cambridge, to make up the solid element over which, and under, but not through, the bolts of eloquency may fly innocuous. To leave the figurative, the press never was greater on such an occasion, and the coolness of the weather, under such circumstances, was a grateful dispensation, to an audience that was compelled, particularly in the galleries, to stand to their posts for six hours.

The general character of the productions served up by the class of 1829, was serious — with the only exception of the Poem, by Holmes. The Latin Salutatory was pronounced, rather gracefully in manner, by Fay, of Cambridge. In the conference upon "Novels formed upon fashionable, humble and sea life," Ward, of Salem, rose above mediocrity. In the Coloquy "An Active profession as injuring or assisting the efforts of a literary man," Channing, of Cambridge, displayed originality and power of thought, with a finished eloquence. Clarke, of Boston, in the same coloquy, was heard with satisfaction — while, in another coloquy, "The comparative influence of governments and individuals in effecting great public improvements," Bigelow, of Watertown, gave proof that he felt some interest in his subject.

Phillips, of Boston, in delivering an essay, "Incorporating historical truth with fiction," added much to the gratification of the audience. While he admitted that some nations would find an advantage in having the embellishments of fiction mingled with the facts in their history, he deprecated such a course in American history. He wished no single word to be put into the mouths, of our patriots and states-

men that they had not uttered — no more blood poured out on the red field of battle than had actually been shed. Brigham, of Grafton, in the Philosophical discussion, "The influence of Lord Bacon's writings on the progress of knowledge" had passages of much merit, and his eloquence was of an impressive character.

In our progress over the commencement bill of fare thus far, we have omitted many more names than we have mentioned — and it would have been better for a few of the speakers, as well as the audience, if the printer had forgotten to put their names in the order of exercises. It is insufferable, in the first university of our land, before a discriminating audience, yet disposed to be well pleased with every thing pleasant, or even everything not absolutely bad, to have scholars come ungracefully on the stage, stand there, like clowns of the first water, talk over what their prompter must, in good part, put into their mouths in just such a manner as is calculated to give most mortification to their friends and disgust to the audience; and, after all, sometimes not having the saving excellence of having written well what was abominably spoken.

Holmes, of Cambridge, has a very youthful appearance, and came forward with modesty and childlike innocence to beguile the audience with song. He has the elements of poetry in his nature, and his production, on this occasion, although of a light and sarcastic character, was received with much applause. The youth complained that, on commencement day, the whole array of beauty was in arms against the trembling candidate for a degree — under the keen glances of a thousand eyes scanning the angles of his outward man, the poet felt trepidation from crown to heel — and, by way of reprisal, and to carry the war into the enemies' camp, made *the ladies* the subject of his song. The ladies were pleased, and the poet, if every laugh draws a nail from a coffin, made a good business.

The Literary Discussion which succeeded the poem was not attended to, as it could not have been heard — it should be printed with engravings. Cunningham, of Boston, delivered a dissertation on "The encouragement to young men to educate themselves exclusively or chiefly for high political offices." He came on the stage with an ungraceful bow and the air of one who was too much burdened with matter to care much for the manner; yet, as his subject opened, his oratory improved, and he became highly interesting. He presented a fund of thought and gave just views of the subject in hand.

We must be permitted to speak in commendatory terms of the Forensic Disputation, "Whether the inequalities of genius in different countries be owing to moral causes," by Giles, of Townsend and Robbins, of Roxbury. Giles is tall, erect, has a rigidity of gesticulation, like an accurate mathematician making straight lines and acute angles, avoiding the curve line of beauty; but he did honor to his subject, and his views presented the true omnipotence of moral causes and the dignity of genius, unchanged, unaffected, by change of climate, the frost or the sun. Said a good natured Sophomore just turning to a Junior, "this Giles is one of the greatest *digs* in College." An inquiry, from one who was not up to college technicals, was answered that a *dig* meant a laborious student. Robbins has a fine, commanding figure, a forehead which is the home of thought and power, and a voice of great strength and compass. He is an orator. He had the weakest side of the argument, but managed it admirably, and almost made us believe that the zones of genius could be well defined by the zones of the earth. Devereux, of Salem, is a fine writer, and a tolerable speaker. We were sorry that a small part of the audience were diverted from his polished periods, by a phenomenon that disturbed the gravity of some whose years should have taught them more philosophy. There was a hole, about one foot square, over one of the doors leading to the gallery, near the upper part of the side wall of the house. Someone had climbed up in the anti-chamber, and thrust his head through the embrasure, so as to see and hear all that was going on. How it was possible to find a face exactly square, so as to match and fill up the space, with a mouth so wide as to bisect the square, is a mystery that should find a place in the *Magnalia of Harvard.* It looked down, that square, bodiless countenance, on all that was passing below, as the genius of right angles, old Euclid, would have done on these perverse, anti-geometrical days.

The remarks of Pierce, of Cambridge, in the Forensic disputation, "Whether inflicting capital punishments publicly has any tendency to diminish crime," were really practical and worthy all attention. Of Gray, of Boston, in a Dissertation on "Modes of Circulating and perpetuating literary works in different ages and countries," and of Storrow, of Boston, in an oration in English on "The diversities of Character," we cannot speak in too high terms of approbation. Gray has spirit, acuteness and strength; Storrow has dignity — a weight

of mind, yet is wanting in the power of aiding great impression by his voice — his voice being loud, quick and incapable of dwelling long on important words; Gray is graceful, moves with ease backwards and forwards on the stage, and effects much by the straight forward, descending gesture of his arm; Storrow is a figure most erect and dignified.

Mr. Timothy Walker, a gentleman attached to the board of instruction in Round Hill Institution at Northampton, a candidate for the degree of A.M. delivered an excellent oration in English on "Literary Justice." His oratory was remarkably the reverse of the pompous, swelling, lion-roaring manner, which makes the words *and* and *the* as emphatic in sound as words that mean something. The Latin valedictory was pronounced by Mr. John H. W. Page, of New Hampshire, and was a first rate specimen of scholarlike latinity.

We were much pleased that the usual allusions to Greece and Rome, so rife and stale at most commencements, were entirely omitted. This is truly the proper American System and marks a new era in commencement literature — But, in the words in which the valedictory commenced, we will end this — "*Sat verborum.*"

Fifty-seven young gentlemen received the degree of Bachellor of Arts. The honorary degree of D.D. was conferred on the Rev. Francis Wayland, of Brown University, that of L.L.D. on Judge Cranch, of Washington City, and that of A.M. on Daniel Treadwell and Charles Sprague, Esqs. of this city. About twenty gentlemen, *alumni* of the University, received the degree of A.M. and twelve others that of M.D. Among the strangers of distinction who were present, we noticed Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, the Rev. Dr. Nott, President of Union College, N. Y. The Hon. Mr. Johnston, U. S. Senator from Louisiana, Hon. Mr. Coles, Ex-Governor of Illinois, and Chief Justice Mellen of Maine.

Phi Beta Kappa. The Phi Beta Kappa, Alpha of Massachusetts, held their anniversary yesterday, at Cambridge. The exercises commenced at half past 12, by a prayer from Rev. Alonza Potter, minister of St. Paul's, in this city. The audience was not behind that of commencement day, in point of numbers or brilliancy. Rev. Mr. Francis, of Watertown, was the orator of the day. He enjoys the reputation of a distinguished scholar, or, at least, of a laborious student, and expectation was considerably raised beforehand; but we cannot say that

any of his views on the subject of his discourse, which related to literary improvement, were very striking or original. His language was classical, his reading, doubtless, has been very extensive, his manner of delivery unexceptionable; but, we humbly think that he advanced many things which he should have taken for granted, his audience already knew. Mr. F. made rather a triumphant vindication of literary labor, as of immense benefit, and, indeed, as the foundation of that *practical* knowledge, which many cry up so much above book knowledge. His maxim is that *to write is to act*, and in accordance with this, he gave an oration of two hours and ten minutes in length. *Sat verborum.*

The Poem, by Charles Sprague, Esq. of this city, was surpassingly good, and was received with as much applause as anything of the kind ever obtained in New-England. He commenced with the emphatic words — "It reigned in heaven." The principle to which he alluded, he afterwards described as reigning "in Eden." He gave a poet's coloring to the garden, to the lovely Eve, the tree of life, the bland whisper of the serpent, the fair one's compliance, the consequent self-devotion to ruin of the first man. Afterwards, "It reigned on earth." — The interest kept up by this enigmatical allusion to his subject, without naming it, was breathless; and when, with pronouncing the word Curiosity, he at the same time solved his riddle and announced the subject of his poem, there was loud applause. After this the poet ferreted out this ruling passion from every lurking place, and held it up to keen ridicule.— Only think, Ladies — particularly those who attended Fanny Wright's lectures, of this line —

"A female atheist — and a learned dog!"

Was not this a happy coupling together of subjects? In his satirical carricatures, he described the

"Hard eyed lender and the pale lendee."

His description of the monied miser, was an astonishing stretch of invention —

"An incarnation of fat dividends!"

We feel utterly incompetent to do justice to a poem which abounded with stern rebukes to the vicious, and winged arrows of satire to shoot the follies of the time as they fly, as well as the sublime flights of an eagle muse.

ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE

By Samuel McChord Crothers S.T.D.

Read 23 January, 1917

Archibald Murray Howe was born in Northhampton, Mass., May 20, 1848. He was the son of James Murray Howe and Harrietta Butler (Clarke) Howe. His early education was in the Brookline High School. He entered Harvard in 1865 and was graduated in 1869, with the degree of A.M. After completing his college course he entered the Harvard Law School and in 1871 took the degree of LL.B. and was admitted to the bar in the same year.

During the years 1873–1875 he held the position of secretary to the Hon. Henry L. Pierce, then a member of Congress. Mr. Howe's life in Washington made him acquainted with many of the leading men of the country and deepened his interest in national affairs.

From 1875 to his death, Mr. Howe was a resident of Cambridge and took a lively interest in all that concerned the welfare of the city. He served in the Common Council, 1875–1877. In 1884 he was a member of the Executive Committee in Massachusetts which advocated the election of Grover Cleveland as President of the United States. [As a member of a committee of three appointed by the Massachusetts Reform Club on the evening of the nomination of James G. Blaine for President, he largely aided in circulating a remonstrance which was the basis of the whole "Mugwump movement" in the country.][1] He served for a time as one of the Civil Service Examiners in Cambridge. He was elected in 1891 a member of the Massachusetts Legislature and served with the utmost zeal and fidelity.

He was a director of the American Unitarian Association and active in the work of the First Parish Church in Cambridge. He belonged to the Cambridge Club, the Boston Bar Association, the Middlesex Bar Association, and the International Law Association.

June 4, 1881, he married Arria Sargent Dixwell, the daughter of Epes Dixwell of Cambridge. Mr. Howe died in Cambridge Jan. 6, 1916.

[1] The portions in brackets were added by Mr. Dana. See p. 8, *ante*.

The bare facts of Mr. Howe's career and the enumeration of his public services give but a slight idea of what he was. The ordinary terms of praise are not accurately descriptive of his personality. Most men are the product of their environment. They represent the moral and social ideas of their companions. They find it easy to adapt themselves to the world of which they are a part.

Archibald Howe was a born non-conformist. He was incapable of those compromises with his own conscience which most men find necessary. He fretted at the conventionalities in which other men found repose. To see a wrong was to stir him to an immediate action. In his profession and in civic affairs he could not be content to "call good evil and evil good." His idealism brought him more pain than peace of mind. He was one "of whom the world was not worthy."

But his unworldliness never took the form of otherworldliness. He never retreated from the things that pained him. Even when his convictions were opposed to the popular opinion he was always a man of the people. No man had less of class feeling or class prejudice.

He was a good citizen because he gave to the city and the state that which was best in himself. In politics, in religion, and in family life Archibald Howe represented the best type of the modern Puritan. He had the old Puritan sense of rectitude, to which was added a sympathy with all sorts and conditions of men which saved him from the old Puritan austerity.

[When I think of Mr. Archibald M. Howe I feel that the age of chivalry is not gone. His sword leaped from its sheath whenever there was a good cause, no matter how unpopular, or a worthy person, however humble, that needed defense. He was like a knight without fear and without reproach. He, too, in defending such causes did so with no little sacrifice to his political ambitions and ran the risk of being called Utopian — an epithet which many a worthy citizen fears more than bullets in battle or bombs in riots. With the example of such moral courage as Mr. Howe's, and such sacrifice, we need no longer fear, in permanent peace, lack of moral equivalents for war.]

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF DR. MORRILL WYMAN PROFESSOR DUNBAR, PROFESSOR SOPHOCLES AND PROFESSOR SHALER

By Charles William Eliot, LL.D.

Read 1 May, 1917

Ladies and Gentlemen, the subjects of my remarks are not all accurately described as academic figures, although all four of them did teach in Harvard University.

The first subject I propose to talk about is Dr. Morrill Wyman. He was about a generation ahead of me; so that he seemed to me an elderly man when I first knew him, and he lived to a good old age, over eighty. He was physically rather thickset, not tall, but of good height, with a quick, active step; light haired with a complexion to match, and generally wore his hair pretty long. He was a very familiar figure in the streets of Cambridge for two generations.

He drove about the town all the first part of his life in a cheap, plain buggy, sometimes with a top and sometimes without; and the horse was always imperfectly groomed. Dr. Wyman had habits distinctly frugal or economical in his professional expenditures, and, indeed, in the conduct of his life in general. He never spent anything unnecessarily; and he was much opposed to the high charges which even forty years ago had begun to prevail among distinguished physicians and surgeons in this vicinity. He never charged more than three dollars for a visit, and was completely unconcerned in regard to the question: "What will the traffic bear?" That, you know, is now a recognized method of determining the charge for an operation or treatment in each individual case. For instance, for the clinics of the Mayo brothers a secretary is kept to inquire into the financial condition of everybody who is there treated and examined, and the supposed income of the patient is an important element in determining the charge to be made. Nothing was more abhorrent to Dr. Wyman than that method of arriving at a physician's fee.

I remember taking to him one day my oldest boy, Charles, then perhaps ten or twelve years old, on whose neck I had noticed a small

protuberance. Dr. Wyman looked at it, felt of it, and said — he was a man of quick observation and quick speech — "That is a wen. You had better have it right out." He said that to the boy, and immediately produced a lancet. In half a minute the little growth was out; and the doctor applied a simple dressing. Then he remarked to Charles, "There, that will cost you two dollars, because you have come to my office; but if you had gone in to get that done by a surgeon in Boston he would have charged you twenty-five dollars"; which I have no doubt was an underestimate of the probable Boston charge.

He was extraordinarily alert and vigorous in his motions, and was always ready to encounter rough weather. If he could not drive, he would go afoot on his visits. About the year 1866, I think it was, there was a tremendous snowstorm here and all over New England,— sometimes referred to as the New York Blizzard. All communication between Boston and New York, and, in fact, over most of the northeastern part of the country, was stopped for two or three days, so heavy was the fall of snow. It happened that Mrs. Eliot (Ellen Derby Peabody) had been lately confined, and it was Dr. Wyman who had attended her. In spite of the snowstorm, the doctor thought it was his business to arrive at our house. It was absolutely impossible to go in any vehicle, sleigh or other. Whereupon Dr. Wyman appeared mounted on his buggy horse — very far from a saddle horse — and proceeding at a walk. That was the only way in which he could cover the ground between his house and mine on that day.

I got a very vivid impression of Dr. Wyman's alertness and capacity for vigorous action when Mrs. Eliot (Grace Mellen Hopkinson) was desperately ill with albuminuria at Mt. Desert. The doctor who had been attending her all night was desperately fatigued, and when the next morning convulsion succeeded convulsion to his great disappointment he told me that he could do nothing more, and left the house. Eight hours later I was watching by the bedside, when suddenly one of the maids ran in and said to me, "Dr. Wyman is coming in." I thought that she was wrong, that it must be the other doctor who had returned; but no it was Dr. Wyman. He came rapidly up the stairs, and as I met him halfway, he looked up to me eagerly and said, "Is she alive?" I replied that she was; and that the interval between convulsions had lengthened. He felt the pulse and went to work at once with the utmost energy — remarking,

"she must be better"— and demanded senna. We had none; the roads at that time were very bad all over the Island, and there was no shop where drugs were kept within three miles of my house. However, I sent messengers in three directions, and the one that got back with the senna was my boatman — who rowed six miles and walked a mile, all in an hour and a half.

Dr. Wyman's energy on that occasion, and the treatment which he adopted, saved Mrs. Eliot's life. The method of his coming at that opportune moment was interesting. The doctor who had left my house early in the morning accidentally met Dr. Wyman on the street in Bar Harbor, and knowing that Dr. Wyman was our family physician, reported to him Mrs. Eliot's hopeless condition. Dr. Wyman ran for a horse and wagon and drove ten miles to my house with all possible speed. That was the kind of vigor and friendliness with which he practiced his profession— and the skill also.

One day I was approaching the Charles River Bank on the sidewalk, when Dr. Wyman appeared coming out of the bank, red in the face and with an unusual aspect of excitement. He ran up to me, saying, "Have you seen the morning paper?" "No," said I. "Get it," said he, "you must read the account of what has happened." He then mentioned the name of a distinguished physician who had had a child by a married woman who had put herself under his care in a hotel in Philadelphia. I never heard Dr. Wyman swear before, or since, but he then said, shaking his fist, "Damn him," said he, "he has violated the oath of Hippocrates." I must confess that at the moment I wondered what the oath of Hippocrates affirmed; and as soon as I parted from Dr. Wyman I hastened to the College Library, and looked up the oath, and found, as the doctor had said, that the physician had violated one of the most striking prescriptions of that admirable oath which in accordance with an ancient custom was administered for many generations to all young men who were entering on the practice of medicine. I was so impressed with the merits of that oath that when I was making up the collection called the Harvard Classics, I was careful to put that oath in.

That reminds me, Mr. President, to say something about another book which I included in that collection. You spoke just now of the memorial account of Richard Henry Dana given in a fresh volume of your proceedings. In making up the Harvard Classics, I put in *Two Years Before the Mast;* because it was not only a work of

high merit as literature, as a sample of fine English style, but it also portrayed a mode of life, an employment, which has since gone out of the world, and we may hope will never be seen again — I mean service as a common sailor in the merchant marine under the laws of eighty years ago. Now, it has happened that during the last seven years I have had more thanks for including *Two Years Before the Mast* in that collection than for any other book in the entire set. It has given more pleasure, apparently, and been more gratefully received than any other book in the entire series, or any paper, essay, or poem in the entire series.[1]

To go back to Dr. Wyman, he was a man who welcomed in his profession the new thing. He was always ready to entertain, to discuss, a new treatment. That is very rare in the profession of medicine, and particularly among family physicians. The family physician, like the regular army officer, gets into the habit of following a routine; so that a new method is not welcome, and indeed, as the physician grows older, can hardly be mentally entertained. But Dr. Wyman was not of that sort. Nevertheless, you may get some notion of the recent progress of medicine when I tell you that Dr. Wyman in 1866–67 did not know that tuberculosis of the lungs was contagious, had no knowledge — at any rate none appeared in his practice — of the precautions that ought to be taken with tuberculous patients lest they communicate the disease, and had no acquaintance with what we now call the open-air treatment. He never told me to take any precautions whatever when I was in close contact with tuberculosis for years. That may illustrate to you how much has been gained in the last fifty years of medicine; because tuberculosis has been the worst of scourges and the most rife in this country.

Dr. Wyman was an originator in the matter of teaching medicine. In connection with his brother Jeffries, he maintained a sort of private school in medicine for several years here in Cambridge, much to the discontent of the regular medical faculty in Boston. Whence arose some criticisms; and a good deal of blame was visited on the two brothers Wyman. But out of that school also came a group of very successful practitioners of medicine and students of physiology and anatomy. Dr. Wyman thus made a real contribution to the teaching of medicine, in spite of his own absorption in the practice of medicine. I early gathered from Dr. Wyman's professional habits and his con-

[1] Several members of the Dana family are members of the Cambridge Historical Society.

versation that medicine was to become something more than a healing profession; that it was to add, to the curing or healing of evil developed, the prevention of threatening evil; and I have lived to see public health and preventive medicine become the most important functions of men trained in medical schools. I have always felt under great obligations to Dr. Wyman for the initiation he gave me into that view of medicine.

Nothing could exceed the kindliness of his whole practice of medicine, among the well-to-do and among the poor alike. I remember when a student of his and his brother Jeffries, practicing as a house officer in the smallpox hospital on one of the islands in Boston Harbor, contracted the disease, and died of it. Whereupon Jeffries Wyman and Morrill Wyman, with the assistance of two or three of his fellow-students, did all the work connected with the burial of that young man, and followed the body to the grave.

This was a quality common to his family. I was riding into Boston in a horse-car, shortly after horse-cars began to ply between Cambridge and Boston, when a tall gentleman, next to whom I had been sitting, heard the conductor say, "There is a man in that house"— indicating a house in a brick block near Lafayette Square — "There is a man in that house who has got the cholera, and nobody will go there to take care of him." My neighbor jumped up and said, "Stop this car." The conductor obeyed, and out my neighbor got and marched straight into that house. It was a brother of Dr. Morrill Wyman.

I don't think I have ever admired anybody more for character and mental quality than I did Dr. Wyman; but he never made any claim for either gratitude or praise. He was simple-minded, ardent, direct, and what we properly call devoted to his profession and to the service of men.

I turn to quite a different character, different in origin, aspect, and bodily and mental habits, namely, to Professor Evangelinus Apostolides Sophocles. He was a striking figure in the College Yard for forty years. He was perhaps thirty-five years old when I first saw him, and he lived to old age, but always concealed his age, and nobody knew how old he was. He stuck to this concealment to the day of his death, and successfully. I remember Mrs. Eliot, who was quite a favorite of his, saying to him one evening at our house, "How

old were you when you went from Egypt to Constantinople?" He had already informed us, in telling stories, that he sailed by the island of Scio in a Turkish vessel at the time of the massacre of Scio; and therefore if Mrs. Eliot could find how old he was when he went by that island, he would be dated, so to speak. Mr. Sophocles looked at her very keenly, and remarked gravely but with a twinkle in his eye, "I forget." Most likely he did not know how old he was.

He was of medium height and thickset; his legs were rather short and his large head was made to appear larger by a shock of gray hair which he always wore rather long, and which stood up a good deal, and made his head look much larger than it otherwise would have.

He lived, all the years I knew him, in the northwest corner rooms of Holworthy Hall on the second story, where he had, of course, a front study and two bedrooms in the rear of the study, as all the suites there have. There was nothing in those rooms except the most absolutely necessary furniture. There was nothing in his bedroom except a bed, and in the study there were three chairs and one table, and some rough shelves on which he kept manuscripts and the few books that he was in the habit of using in his room. There he wrote a dictionary of Patristic Greek and English, which is still the best dictionary of that sort in the world, and was for a long time the only one.

He had a yellowish-brown complexion, aquiline nose, and good teeth, which he showed very much when he smiled, and his eyes were large and brilliant — if anybody knows just what that attribute of eyes denotes. The eyes were what is properly described as piercing when he looked at you, and the eyebrows were very shaggy, black, grey, and white. He aways wore a long, black frock coat, such as the Japanese do now, and there was nothing but black in his clothing summer or winter. In the winter, in the latter part of his life, he wore a Greek capote, which is a very thick, rough cape coming down to the knees, with a shorter cape giving a double covering on the chest and shoulders, and a wide hood. This cape he brought with him from Greece on one of his trips; and it was the kind of thing that never wears out. He never bought any other overcoat after he secured that.

His habits in his rooms were very simple. Nothing could be more frugal. He ate in his room and cooked in his room — what little cooking he did — and the only person that I know to have ever eaten with him there was myself. He once invited me to dine with him in

his room. That meal I shall always remember. I was living at the time in the next entry of Holworthy; and Mr. Sophocles had had some indigestions which alarmed him somewhat and his "goody" more. She was a big, good-natured Irish woman who was much attached to this remarkable inmate of her entry. She burst into my room one cold morning crying, "Oh, Mr. Eliot, do come into Mr. Sophocles' room quick, quick, he is dying." I ran in, and found Mr. Sophocles lying on the bare floor in front of a hard-coal fire. He was wrapped in his capote, and he was groaning and feeling very ill. I succeeded in inducing him to get into bed, as a preliminary measure, sent a good runner for the doctor — no telephones then — and he was soon relieved. From that time on either the goody or some passing student would get me to the room if Mr. Sophocles had an ill turn. It was in return for some such ministration that he invited me to dine with him.

The dinner consisted of little cubic blocks of beef about an inch and a quarter each way. I should say it was cut from the round — at any rate it was not the tenderest portion of the animal. These blocks of meat he had stewed on his stove in water flavored with salt and pepper for two or three hours. They were still pretty obdurate. He gave me a wooden spoon and a cup, and told me to help myself out of the pot, which I proceeded to do; and with some pains I succeeded in eating this beef. The only thing that accompanied the beef was French bread. Twice a week Mr. Sophocles had two long loaves of crisp French bread left at his door by a baker of the day, named Murillo, I think. At any rate, the baker drove out from Boston twice a week, and left a good deal of French bread in Cambridge, and always two long loaves for Mr. Sophocles at Holworthy 3. They were his chief food. He had a pocket knife with a hooked blade, chiefly used in winter and early spring for pruning trees; and with that knife he chopped off two pieces for my benefit from one of these long loaves. As soon as we had finished the contents of this pot he produced a quart bottle, very carefully corked, containing coffee, ground with a mortar and pestle to the utmost fineness; it was reduced to an impalpable powder. He kept it tightly corked, so that the aroma of the coffee might not be lost. He put a considerable quantity of the coffee into the same pot, it being first rinsed with cold water and wiped with a piece of paper, and then added some water to it and boiled this very fine powder with the water for two or three

minutes after the boiling point had been reached. He then filled for me a large yellow mug of coarse crockery with this decoction. Of course, the fine coffee powder, having been wet thoroughly, had a tendency to settle; but it did not all settle by any means. There was no sugar — no admixture of any sort. I found the dark and turbid liquid good, because the original coffee was good; but there was perhaps an inch deep of the soft coffee mush in the bottom of the mug, which I naturally neglected. Mr. Sophocles called my attention to the fact that there was coffee in the mug that I had not finished, and he desired me to eat the whole of the hot mush with my wooden spoon, as a necessary part of the proper enjoyment of coffee. In short, he used Turkish coffee without the sugar. As this was undoubtedly an especial feast, the simplicity of Mr. Sophocles's ordinary eating and drinking may be inferred.

You must not infer, however, that Mr. Sophocles never enjoyed elaborate cooking and abundance of costly food and drink. I was once invited to a dinner given in honor of Professor Sophocles by a rich Greek merchant in Boston who had a high regard for Sophocles and often entertained him. It was in Lent, and since the host was Catholic, there was no meat. Nevertheless, it was one of the most varied, elaborate, and richest dinners that I ever sat at as respects both food and drink. Mr. Sophocles enjoyed it all.

Sophocles's conversation ran chiefly on the Patristic writers, the early fathers who wrote in Greek; and he had a remarkable familiarity with many of those eminent Christian scholars of the early Christian centuries. He knew each Father's writings, services, and fate. If a Father had had his head cut off, Mr. Sophocles accompanied the statement "His head was cut off," with a rapid, sweeping motion of his projecting forefinger from right to left. He was saturated with the Patristic literature, and seemed to live chiefly in those times.

As a teacher in Harvard College he was first a tutor in Greek, then assistant professor, and at last professor of Patristic Greek. His method in the recitation-room was not inspiring; he did not seem to anticipate much success on the part of his pupils. He would be kind in the recitation-room to a student that he liked; but was ruthless to a student against whom he had taken a prejudice of any sort. Of just marking he had no notion whatever. It was a question of like or dislike whether he gave a boy an 8 or a zero. Those were the limits of marking in these times. No boy could induce him to alter

a mark he had once given, however unjust. Many a student has tried to induce him to raise his mark, appealing to his examination-book, and to his daily recitations; but Sophocles was always entirely unmoved, and, as Mr. Drew [1] can testify, it was a fortunate thing for a student in Mr. Sophocles's course if he were in Mr. Sophocles's good graces.

He was a remarkable member of the College Faculty. He seldom said much; but if it came to a discussion of the moral character of a student, his remarks were sometimes extremely vivid, and the punishments he proposed were generally quite severe, analogous to the cutting off of the head.

I remember a good pun by Professor Lane when the Faculty was discussing candidates for admission to college, the examination for admission for that year having just been concluded. Mr. Sophocles reported that a candidate named Fassit had copied the work of a neighbor in the Greek examination, and proposed that Fassit be informed that he was rejected as a candidate for admission, and said that the case did not admit of discussion. Professor Lane did not agree to that somewhat severe view; so he suggested that this candidate no doubt unconsciously was acting on the theory "*Fassit* (facit) *per alium, Fassit per se!*"

Mr. Sophocles was very fond of horticulture, and knew something about it. When he first came to Cambridge the Harris family, living on Holyoke Place, made him welcome to their large garden, in which were many fruit trees in good bearing and condition. Mr. Sophocles enjoyed very much pruning these trees and taking care of them, and he and all the family became great friends. When Mr. Sophocles's will came to be read, it appeared that he had made handsome provision for the female members of that family, who as girls and young women had been kind to him.

His will was remarkable in another way. He commemorated in it an uncle of his, one Constantius, who was a monk in the monastery of Mt. Sinai, and treasurer of the monastery. The business office of the monastery was in Cairo, and when Sophocles was a boy this uncle Constantius borrowed his nephew Evangelinus Apostolides to live with him and be educated by him. Although he left Cairo at about eighteen years of age, Mr. Sophocles felt that he owed much to this uncle Constantius; so that there was found in his will a clause

[1] Mr. Edward B. Drew, Harv. A.B. 1863, was present.

which gave to the President and Fellows of Harvard College a considerable fund (now $26,000) to be called the Constantius Fund, the income to be used forever to purchase books for the college library.

At various times Mr. Sophocles had told Mrs. Eliot and me something about this uncle Constantius, and he had also told us that he had tried to do something for the monastery. He had sent them money more than once. So when we were in Cairo, I spent some time searching for the headquarters of this monastery, but in vain. With the help of the Assistant Director of Public Instruction of that time, an admirable Armenian settled in Egypt, I finally identified the ancient stone building in which the offices of the monastery used to be, but found in it no trace of the monastery or the monks. Pursuing this research, which was really quite difficult, I at last found the present offices of the monastery of Mt. Sinai. They were in a building that would have been much more appropriate to Inman Street, Cambridgeport. It was a brilliantly painted, three-story, wooden villa — I will call it — with a good deal of jig-saw work on it. In it were half a dozen of the monks of Mt. Sinai. I obtained admission by ringing a gong doorbell, and found among the monks one who could talk a little German. Through him I succeeded in inquiring of the group if there were any relics of Constantius there. My priest answered that they knew nothing about Constantius, but that they had hopes that a nephew of Constantius, who lived in rich America, was going to do something for the monastery, for Constantius' sake. I asked that search be made for account books in the period when Constantius was treasurer; and they promised to search.

A week later Mrs. Eliot and I returned to the villa, and were admitted. I suppose it was a wonderful thing for a woman to be admitted to the monastery; but they seemed to be pleased with Mrs. Eliot. They informed me that they could find nothing whatever about Constantius or his work. We sat down, and a tray was brought in by a servant and presented first to Mrs. Eliot. On this tray was a glass goblet filled with what looked like raspberry or strawberry jam, some tumblers of water, and another glass filled with teaspoons. That was all there was on the tray. Mrs. Eliot did not know how to proceed; and finally I inquired of the monks what was expected of her, and we were told that she must take a tumbler of water in one hand, then dip a spoon into the jam, eat the jam out of the spoon, drink some of the water, and then put the spoon into the

rest of the water. Each of us succeeded in accomplishing this operation, being observed closely by the monks all the time; they seemed to derive some amusement from our efforts. So the memory of Constantius is to be preserved only in far-off, heretical Harvard University.

Mr. Sophocles was permitted by Miss Maria Fay, who was then the owner and occupant of the Fay House, subsequently possessed by Radcliffe College, to keep hens in her cellar, and the care of these hens was a great resource for Mr. Sophocles. He had no habitual mode of taking exercise; but he would walk to and fro between his room and Miss Fay's house, and stand about watching and tending these hens. In good weather they were kept out in the yard. If any one of these hens got ill, he would carry her to his own room in Holworthy, and there tend her with the utmost care. The eggs that they laid he gave away, except the few that he consumed himself in his own room. Mr. Sophocles's hens were fed on various kinds of grain and some green things in summer; but they never got any corn. He preferred for them the finer grains, like wheat and barley. Mrs. Ephraim W. Gurney was a great favorite of his; and he frequently took a basket of eggs out to the Gurney house. He always marked on the shell the name of the hen that laid the egg, so that they would appear marked "Emma," "Julia," "Phoebe," and so forth. Mrs. Gurney said she was spoiled for market eggs by Mr. Sophocles; for after she had his, all other eggs tasted of corn!

In the last years of his life Mr. Sophocles suffered with a slow chronic disease that was to be ultimately mortal, and he used to send for me not infrequently, thinking that he was going to die; but I generally succeeded in convincing him that he would not. But at last the real time came. He had moved his bed out into the front room, where there could be a fire. There was nothing in the two bedrooms. I sat down by the bed at this last interview; and immediately his mind turned to his property and his will, and he told me who had charge of his will, "Francis E. Parker in Boston"; and then he said to me, "Go into the next room." (He always spoke slowly in rather a deep tone, and pronounced all the syllables of English words distinctly.) "Go into the next room. You will see a box on the floor. Open that box, and bring me a bundle of newspapers." I brought the bundle, and he said, "Open it." So I unwound a great quantity of twine with which it was wound about;

and then unwrapped newspaper after newspaper from the bundle. In the heart of it I found a package of what looked like bonds and certificates of stock. He said, "That is my property. Take it to Francis E. Parker. He knows how I wish to have it disposed of." I asked him if these were coupon bonds, and he replied, "No, they are registered." He had kept them under his bed in this coarse bundle for years. Next he said, "Go back to that box, and bring me a morocco-covered box." I did so, opened it, and found in it a pair of pistols of the best quality. Now, there had always been a rumor among undergraduates that it was not safe to go to Sophocles's room with any mischievous intent; that he had pistols, and was a queer irresponsible person. I asked him what he wished to be done with these pistols, and he said he wished one to be given to the janitor of Holworthy, who had been kind to him, and the other to someone else whose name I have forgotten. When I picked up one to examine it, he said, "Be careful; they are loaded"; which I found to be true. He had kept loaded pistols in his room probably for many years.

When I had done his bidding in this respect somebody knocked at the door. I opened the door to a young fellow who asked me, "Any old textbooks to sell in this room?" He was collecting for a second-hand bookshop in the Square. I said no, and shut the door. Mr. Sophocles, who was near his end, said to me, "Who — was — that?" I described the person and his errand; and he replied, "Rascal!" He had an instant prejudice against any inquirer at his door for goods to buy, or any pedlar who tried to sell him something; and at this grave moment the habitual prejudice produced its natural effect.

But I must not leave the impression that Mr. Sophocles was unamiable. He was eccentric in his opinions, and vivid in his descriptions and his speech generally; but on the whole he was very kind-hearted, particularly to women — and hens! In his later years he was a real picture as he went about the Yard, with his long white hair and brilliant eyes under his soft hat which had once been black. He was very affectionate towards his family in Volo, Thessaly, and often sent them money and other presents. But when he came back from his last trip to Volo, which was years before the two recent Balkan wars or any disturbance of that sort in the country, and while the Turks still held the greater part of that region, his remarks to me on the so-called Greeks in Thessaly and on his family were

extremely candid. He said, "There are no Greeks in Thessaly; those people there are Slavs, all of them. My mother is a Slav; and when I first met her on this last trip I saw that she was just an illiterate old peasant woman."

Mr. Sophocles was Tutor in Greek for fifteen years during a period when a Tutor received a salary of $633.33 and the occupation of a college room rent-free. He was then Assistant Professor of Greek for one year at a salary of $1500, and finally Professor of Ancient, Byzantine, and Modern Greek at a salary which rose gradually to the prodigious sum — in his view — of $4000. It would be extravagant to estimate his annual expenditure on himself at more than $300; and with the aid of two successful business friends in Boston, one a Smyrniote and the other an American, he invested his savings with discretion for forty years. Accordingly at his death he was found to possess good securities amounting to about $130,000, all of which he disposed of with great good sense and good feeling.[1]

I go on to Professor Charles F. Dunbar, who was not of the generation of Dr. Wyman and Professor Sophocles, but of the next younger generation. His connection with the College and his residence in Cambridge did not begin until he was in the prime of life. He became a College teacher of political economy in 1871, after he had retired from another profession in which he had already earned a competency. He was the highly successful manager and editor of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* when it was by far the best paper in Boston or in New England. He went into that paper when it was in an embarrassed condition. The former editor and manager, Mr. Hale, had grown old, and got out of touch with the times both as editor and as business manager. Mr. Dunbar had been accustomed to write editorials for the paper from the time he left college, making in this way needed additions to a narrow income. When he had become the editor and part owner and real manager of the paper, he and I used to meet once a month at a dining club composed of about a dozen young men who had known each other well in College though they belonged to four different classes, 1851–54. I remember his telling me that during the Civil War he wrote every editorial relating to the war in that paper for all those four years, every one, whether

[1] For other anecdotes of Prof. Sophocles, see a series of letters in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, vol. xxv.— Ed.

it related to the financial measures of the Government, or to the conduct of the military operations, or to current events. That was a great responsibility for so young a man, and an admirable training for his future calling as teacher of economics and government.

He worked so eagerly on the *Advertiser* that he impaired his health; and in 1870, five years after the war ended, he was so much out of health that he was forced to sell the *Advertiser* and give up editorial work. However, he sold the *Advertiser* to advantage, and obtained by that transaction what was for him a competency. He had proved himself not only an admirable financial and political teacher, but a very competent man of business also.

I was looking in 1870 for an enlargement of the teaching of political economy in Harvard College. Up to that time we had had no distinct professor of political economy. Francis Bowen, Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civic Polity, devoted a sixth or fifth of his time to the teaching of political economy from an elementary textbook; and that was all the instruction on that subject that Harvard University offered when I came back to the College in 1869. I bethought myself of Mr. Dunbar, who was at that time in Europe recovering his health; and I wrote him suggesting that he become a professor of political economy. He replied that he would think it over, that the proposal was attractive, but that he certainly could not come for a year, because he was too much out of health. So I waited for him a year, and then tried again; and Dunbar accepted the proposal. Thereupon ensued nearly thirty years of happy and successful work as a teacher and administrator, and as builder of a strong department in Harvard University.

He was a good height, though not tall, yellow-haired and with the corresponding complexion, and thin, too thin — what you would call meagre in face and body. He walked with a deliberate step, and spoke in a low tone. He had all the Scotch shrewdness, caution, and frugality, but also the Scotch intensity of quiet feeling, tenacity, and capacity for righteous indignation. His eyes were ordinarily mild and friendly; but when he felt wrathful or indignant, they could glare fiercely. At a Faculty meeting at which a new project had divided the Faculty rather sharply, I appointed Dean Dunbar chairman of a fairly selected committee to consider the project and report at the next meeting. The Committee brought in by its chairman a unanimous report in favor of the project; but when dis-

cussion arose in the Faculty, one member of the Committee who had joined in the report, abandoned it and succeeded in defeating it, to the keen regret of both Professor Dunbar and the President. The next morning he appeared in my office with his steely eyes, and remarked — "Eliot, you never need put me on a committee with —— again; I won't serve." I never did.

He entered eagerly upon the work of building up in Harvard University a real department of political economy. That was an object we both had in view; he welcomed the opportunity, and I was very glad indeed to secure his services for the University.

Professor Dunbar had one decided peculiarity. I think he was the most silent man with whom I ever had familiar intercourse. He could be silent, literally silent, not saying anything, neither yes nor no, during a prolonged conversation or argument. It is reported, and I rather think credibly, that the Dunbar family — when most of the children had grown up — though intellectually lively and acute and interested in many things, were capable of coming down in the morning, seating themselves at the breakfast table, and going through breakfast without uttering a single word.

On the retirement of Professor E. W. Gurney from the deanship of Harvard College — an office which was created for him — after six years of invaluable service, Professor Dunbar consented to take the place for a few years, although administrative work was by no means his choice. The College was undergoing in the seventies a considerable transformation as regarded both studies and discipline, and Professor Dunbar sympathized with the main objects of the change, as Professor Gurney did also. The Dean prepared the business of the Faculty, and made the preliminary negotiations with members of the Board. He was also chairman of the committee on courses of instruction, and was expected to harmonize the desires and ambitions of the instructors who offered the courses. In all this work Professor Dunbar was highly successful. He commanded the respect and admiration of a Faculty which contained some discordant elements. That was then, as now, an office of considerable importance and labor. At that time, however, much disciplinary work fell to the Dean; he conferred with the undergraduates themselves and also with parents whose sons were in trouble. I had felt sure that Professor Dunbar would be calm, gentle, and judicial in dealing with students and their parents; and indeed he always was. Nevertheless, he did not always

succeed with students in trouble or with their parents, the difficulty being his silence. I repeatedly had stormy interviews with parents who had just been *seeing* Professor Dunbar, but not *hearing* him. A parent would naturally be very much interested in his son's case and would explain it to the Dean impetuously and earnestly; but the Dean answered not a word. I was surprised to see how troublesome and irritating that silence was to parents, Professor Dunbar being completely attentive and absolutely innocent of any intention to offend.

He had a similar difficulty in the Faculty. The Faculty had great respect for his judgment; and he was, of course, the leader of the Faculty, and ought always to have taken a leading part in their debates, particularly when he was advocating a measure which he had himself invented or discovered and embraced; but many a time I have walked home with Professor Dunbar after a Faculty meeting —. he lived on Highland Street where his son now lives — at which he had abandoned the leadership of the Faculty, and a measure in which we were both interested had in consequence been lost. I would say, "Why didn't you speak and say what you thought? You could have carried it if you had spoken." And he would say, "Eliot, I couldn't; I couldn't tell the Faculty what I felt about it." And so the measure was lost; because Professor Dunbar, the Dean, had not spoken up for it. Mr. Dunbar always insisted that he could not help it; but I confess that I never quite fathomed the nature of this compulsion to silence.

As a teacher of political economy he made a deep impression on many excellent students, and he directed to the service of Harvard University and of other universities in the Department of Political Economy some persons who have since turned out to be leaders in the subject of economics in this country; such, for instance, as Professor Taussig, who has lately been appointed head of the Commission on the Tariff of the United States, and David F. Houston, the present Secretary of Agriculture. His disciples were always full of respect for Professor Dunbar, and of confidence in the soundness of his reasoning. He produced the strongest personal impression upon them, in spite of the occasional drawback of an invincible silence. He was more apt to be communicative to a single student than he was to a group, or a class. As a lecturer he was quiet, clear, and convincing. He really introduced for American use the method

of banking on commercial assets, which the country has very recently adopted on a great scale in the Federal Reserve Act. His writings were few, outside of his newspaper work, but had high value in a very condensed form.

He was a man of singular courage and determination, absolutely bent on doing the most serviceable thing. In the manner of his death he illustrated these qualities. About 1887 — I think it was thirteen or fourteen years before he died — he bought the greater part of a small island which lies within three-fifths of a mile of the southerly shore of the island of Mt. Desert, where I live in summer. He had been attracted to it during visits at our house, and finally bought all of it which did not already belong to the United States Lighthouse Establishment. There he spent every summer thereafter with great delight and satisfaction. He fitted up a convenient study with a beautiful aspect and prospect, but also with a well-equipped carpenter's shop, for carpentering was a great pleasure and a wholesome exercise for him. He seldom left his island during the entire summer vacation. Now and then he would come over to my house for one meal, or to get a drive, but in general he stayed on his beloved island. The disease of which he died was cancer of the throat, which had pursued him for three or four years before it took on a mortal form. When at last the surgeons told him that they could do nothing more for him, Mr. Dunbar came down to my house in Quincy Street and told me just what they had told him. We talked over some things which remained to be done by him for the University, and certain scholarly tasks which he had it in mind to accomplish before he died; and at last he got up and walked out to the front door — it was warm weather, though in early spring — and at the foot of the steps he turned round and said to me, "Well, Eliot, at any rate, I shall have one more summer at Bear Island." They had told him that he might live six or eight months. As a matter of fact, he did not. It must be a matter of great satisfaction to him — it certainly is to me — that his oldest son, and that son's children, are spending their summers with delight in that house on beautiful Bear Island.

He was one of the rarest characters and wisest men that I have known intimately; but he does not belong to the Old Cambridge people of the generation before mine, for he was only a little older than I.

I go on to Professor Shaler, who was another person that did not belong to the Old Cambridge stock; and the family never felt itself to be a final Cambridge family, so that after the death of Professor Shaler they removed to Washington.

My first sight of Professor Shaler, so far as I remember — and I think my memory is good in respect to that first interview — was when he and his handsome wife, young strangers, entered the spacious library of my uncle George Ticknor one evening in Boston. I had been dining there; and the family had gone into the library from the dining room, when of a sudden these two Kentucky young people were announced. They desired to pay their respects to Mr. and Mrs. Ticknor, to whom they had brought letters of introduction; but the Ticknors had not seen them before. This young Southern couple — he was the son of an eminent Kentucky physician, and she was a Virginia Page — coming into the library together, presented a very striking appearance. Mrs. Shaler was at that time young, beautiful, and stately, and he was of a very striking appearance indeed. He was tall, straight, and sinewy, his eyes and figure were alert, and his light brown hair stood right up on his head. His speech was rapid, and decidedly Kentuckian in accent and in choice of words. Anybody would notice at once that his language was, from our point of view, a little archaic. For instance, he always used the participle "gotten," and there were many other touches of that sort. He had been a pupil of Louis Agassiz, a very enthusiastic and devoted pupil; and after an interval of service in the army on the Union side he had returned to Cambridge to pursue studies of the biologic-geologic sort, and was shortly after made a lecturer at Harvard in such subjects. He had a quick, incisive, and very fertile mind.

When I came back to Cambridge in 1869, the Shalers were quite established there as a family, and soon they came to live in the house next mine on Quincy Street. Then Shaler became professor, and finally Dean of the Lawrence Scientific School; and under him as Dean the School took on a new life altogether, and grew so rapidly that from having had fifty or sixty students in all, it increased to six hundred students.

During this period Shaler regarded it as part of his duty as Dean to go to prayers in the College Chapel every morning; and very faithfully he fulfilled this duty. My path to the Chapel was the same as his the greater part of the way; and he was apt to wait for me until

I got to his back entrance, and then he joined me on the walk through the Yard. I do not think I ever walked those few hundred yards with him without his pouring into my ears a series of suggestions as to what ought to be done about the School, or some teacher in it, or some student or students. He had a very fertile mind, as I have said, and although a considerable proportion of his suggestions were impracticable — that is to say, they were not feasible at the moment — yet I often heard from him suggestions of high value, and hopes and expectations which were stimulating and on the whole enlivening and encouraging.

He conducted for many years in the College a course of lectures in which he covered a large biological field, including geology; and the course was designed for elementary students. I never heard one of these lectures myself; but I heard a great deal about them. They were largely attended. There was only one other professor in Harvard College at that time concerning whose teachings I have heard as many expressions of gratitude from men that had listened to them. That one other professor was Professor Norton; and though an utterly different kind of man and scholar, his lectures on architecture and fine arts generally interested and developed a large number of students who in after years came to feel that they had got more from Professor Norton than from anybody else in Harvard College. That is the way hundreds of men now feel about the lectures of Professor Shaler. It was not because the lectures were always accurate; they were often not well-prepared; but there was a kind of spontaneousness and enthusiasm about them which did young men, whose intellectual interests were not easily awakened, a deal of good. He was not good at stimulating prolonged and accurate research, for that was not the thing for which he was most competent himself; but he was capable of raising in young men who had some intellectual tastes a genuine love of the elements, at least, of biology and geology, a love which they carried into their later life.

One of the subjects of Professor Shaler's conversation with me for at least fifteen years — I should think more — twenty years — was the intended benefaction of Gordon McKay to Harvard College. On innumerable occasions he led the conversation to that subject, and brought out his own ideas about it, and Mr. McKay's ideas also. I always knew that Mr. Shaler's influence on that great benefaction was strong, and was used altogether in the interests of Gordon McKay

and of Harvard University. He never wrote down anything on the subject until long after his conversations with Mr. McKay and with me occurred; so that his recollections of what Mr. McKay intended are not now available in a legal proceeding. His interest in the matter was very great, but his feelings were somewhat mixed. He did not half approve of Mr. McKay's ventures, or of his business methods, which were sometimes eccentric. He did not approve at all, for instance, of Mr. McKay's ventures in placer gold mining in Montana. He always advised against those investments, and continued to advise against them, until, after Mr. McKay's death, a Harvard mining engineer, Mr. Hennen Jennings, took hold of those properties and made them a good investment.

The Shaler family always felt a bit strange in Cambridge. They felt that they were really Southerners and that they had never been thoroughly accepted in Cambridge as a New England family or a Western family would have been; in spite of the fact that Shaler had volunteered for service in the Union army, and had served for some months as captain of a battery of artillery on the Union side.

Mr. Shaler was one of the most interesting figures about the College Yard during the forty years that he was in the University's service, always walking about, early and late, with a long stride, generally carrying a cane, always giving cheery greetings, and always in an alert state of mind.

He was a great favorite with the students of the Scientific School because of his devotion to them under all circumstances. No student in the Scientific School could be sick but Shaler was immediately at his bedside to see what could be done for him. He was the most diligent visitor of that sort that I knew in my forty years of service as president. He was a most sympathetic man with students, or with anybody in distress. He used to walk to the hospitals where any of his young men were lying ill or injured, no matter how far off they were. In fact I think he contracted the pneumonia of which he died in walking over to the hospital at Corey Hill on a very rough day to see a student who was seriously ill. He was tolerant of dullness or laziness or silliness in motiveless students, although he told them plainly they were cumbering the ground, and preparing for themselves a miserable future. He was absolutely intolerant of selfishness or inconsiderateness on the part of young men towards parents or older friends, of brutality towards women, and of all dishonorable conduct.

Three of these men, Wyman, Dunbar, and Shaler, were good citizens. Sophocles never took the slightest interest in any form of American politics, and he had an utter contempt for European politics and particularly for the "concert of Europe." He never discharged any of the duties of a citizen in the political sense. The rest of them were good citizens, although none of them took quite so personal an interest in public affairs — particularly in health and school affairs — as Dr. Wyman. Three of these men, who were very poor in their youth, acquired considerable property during serviceable lives given to intellectual things.

I am afraid I have spoken too long; but all these persons were very dear to me, and it has been a great pleasure to tell you something about them. My long observation of the University taught me that it was often impossible to replace teachers and authors lost, by men of the same quality and calibre. That was true of every one of the four men of whom I have been speaking tonight. The place of Dr. Wyman has never been filled in this community; and in the University the same is true of the other three.

LONGFELLOW'S POEMS ON CAMBRIDGE AND GREATER BOSTON

Longfellow Prize Essay for 1917

By Dorothy Henderson
of the English High School

Longfellow is, of all the poets, the nearest and dearest to us of Cambridge. He was certainly a man of great genius, as the whole world knows, but it is not because of his genius or because of any other endowment of nature that he is so dear to us, but because of his sympathy with us — a sympathy arising from a life in New England, from associations in common with New England people, and more especially from associations in common with people of Cambridge and Greater Boston. The most common scenes of his daily life are scenes with which we are all familiar; his daily walks were walks that we all know; his friends were men whose names are now well known in this part of the country; and, above all, the atmosphere which surrounded him is the atmosphere in which we live. He felt the thrill of patriotism which fires every New England boy who reads in history of that "shot heard 'round the world," and he had the famous New England conscience that prompted him to say on one occasion when an unwelcome and frequent visitor was under discussion, "But who will be kind to him if I am not?" These elements in his character, together with the more material links of persons and places, have made him doubly dear to us.

"The Landlord's Tale," from *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, could not have been equalled in its spirit by any poet who had not lived in this liberty-loving New England of ours, and who had not loved it as Longfellow did. Strangers who are interested in our nineteenth of April and its significance come to Boston to visit the Old North Church. It is very probable, especially if they have come from another part of the country, that they remember the incident from Longfellow rather than from their early study of history. In this vicinity one has only to begin:

Listen, my children, and you shall hear —

and the average school boy or girl can recite on to the very end; for the landlord's story of Paul Revere's message has been widespread in recent years. Truly it was

— a word that shall echo forever more!

and to the immortality of history Longfellow has added the charm and romance of poetry.

But Longfellow's work as a whole is of a different character. Much of it is description of familiar scenes in his life and the outpourings of a poet's heart expressed as only a true poet can express them — snatches from that "grand sweet song" that was his life, from beginning to end. Among these poems are many written in Cambridge. One of the most beautiful is dedicated "To the River Charles."

River! that in silence windest
Through the meadows, bright and free,
Till at length thy rest thou findest
In the bosom of the sea!

In sadness and in illness, the poet says, the still beauty of the river brought him peace, and in his happier hours an added brightness.

Thou hast taught me, Silent River!
Many a lesson deep and long;
Thou hast been a generous giver;
I can give thee but a song.—

— a song so beautiful, however, that it has found its way into the hearts of many who have never seen the river. The river seems to have found a place in the poet's heart, too, for we find many passages addressed to it:

River, that stealest with such silent pace
Around the City of the Dead, where lies
A friend who bore thy name, and whom these eyes
Shall see no more in his accustomed place,
Linger and fold him in thy soft embrace,
And say good night. . . .

This is from "Three Friends of Mine," and the reference is to Charles Sumner, one of Longfellow's closest friends, who was buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery.

Longfellow's friend, the poet Lowell, lived but a short distance from the Craigie House, Longfellow's home. Lowell's residence,

called Elmwood, was much frequented by birds, and to his brother poet Longfellow has written a poem entitled "Herons of Elmwood," which contains this beautiful stanza addressed to the herons:

> Sing of the air, and the wild delight
> Of wings that uplift and winds that uphold you,
> The joy of freedom, the rapture of flight
> Through the drift of the floating mists that enfold you.

It is interesting in studying the life of a poet to find that the most trivial details of his surroundings appear in his poems. There is an example of this in Longfellow's "To a Child." The gaily figured tiles of the nursery chimney in the Craigie House are mentioned as attracting the baby eyes, and the pictures on some of the tiles are described minutely.

"The Children's Hour" gives us a charming glimpse into Longfellow's family life at the Craigie House. We can imagine the poet in his lamplit study laying his work aside as he hears:

> The sound of a door that is opened,
> And voices soft and sweet.

Then comes

> A sudden rush from the stairway
> A sudden raid from the hall!

and the children have surrounded their beloved father and are besieging him with kisses.

One of Longfellow's poems of Cambridge which is especially popular is "The Village Blacksmith." The smithy belonged to one Dexter Pratt, and stood on Brattle Street not far from the poet's home. The smith, the eager children who crowded to watch him, and the beautiful horse chestnut tree that spread its branches over the little smithy inspired the poem.

> Under a spreading chestnut tree
> The village smithy stands;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> His brow is wet with honest sweat,
> He earns whate'er he can,
> And looks the whole world in the face,
> For he owes not any man."
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Toiling,— rejoicing,— sorrowing,
> Onward through life he goes;

Each morning sees some task begun,
Each evening sees it close;
Something attempted, something done,
Has earned a night's repose.

This characterization of the blacksmith, at once so homely and so beautiful, is a masterpiece in itself.

The chestnut tree was very dear to Longfellow, and he was much grieved by the cutting down of the tree to widen Brattle Street. The tree came down, but it gave pleasure to its old friend even after its death; for at the suggestion of the City government the children gladly gave small subscriptions which swelled into one large fund, and with the money was made a beautiful armchair from the wood of the dead tree. The chair was presented to Longfellow on his seventy-second birthday, and was given a place of honor before the fire in the poet's study.

Thus we find among his last poems one dedicated "To the Children of Cambridge."

Am I a king, that I should call my own
This splendid ebon throne?
Or by what reason, or what right divine,
Can I proclaim it mine?

Only, perhaps, by right divine of song
It may to me belong;
Only because the spreading chestnut tree
Of old was sung by me.

Well I remember it in all its prime,
When in the summer time
The affluent foliage of its branches made
A cavern of cool shade.

. . . . . .

And thus, dear children, have ye made for me
This day a Jubilee,
And to my more than threescore years and ten
Brought back my youth again.

. . . . . .

Only your love and your remembrance could
Give life to this dead wood,
And make these branches, leafless now so long,
Blossom again in song.

There are other poems, too, written on Cambridge and the surrounding towns — among them "The Bridge," "St. John's, Cambridge," and "In the Churchyard at Cambridge." Considered together they make a happy whole, and a worthy addition to the poet's other work. By means of these and other poems this Cambridge and this New England of ours have been carried into the homes of every people; our towns and customs, by a poet's singing, have been described in almost every language: for the music of this poet is not so vague or so difficult that it can be understood only by the careful student or the learned scholar; on the contrary, its melody is so simple, its spirit so definite that everyone has felt its charm and loved it.

And so in these poems of his city and its neighborhood we find the very simplest and sweetest of his songs, because the persons, places, and things by which they were inspired were nearest to his heart.

ANNUAL REPORT OF SECRETARY AND COUNCIL

At the request of the Council, the Secretary has prepared their report and incorporated therein his own.

During the past year there have been held four meetings of the Council, mainly devoted to the usual preparations for the general meetings. At the first meeting of the season it was considered that owing to the purely nominal character of the various committees to collect material, etc., whose names have occupied a page of each annual publication, they need not be reappointed for the current year.

The secretary finds that he himself has unintentionally assumed a large part of the duties of one of these committees — that for collecting the autographs of distinguished citizens of Cambridge. By some unexplained oversight, the majority of our members have never complied with the requirement that they sign the by-laws. Even some of the charter members' names are still wanting on the roll. The laxity in this respect increased to such a point that from 1912 to 1916 not a single signature was added. During the past year 32 signatures have been secured, two notices have been issued on the subject, and the secretary has been authorized, in case milder methods fail, to complete the collection by recourse to that recently revived and popularized contrivance of the Spanish Inquisition, a house-to-house canvass.

At the first council meeting, also, a special committee was appointed to call the attention of the Mayor of Cambridge to the dilapidated state of "Fort Washington," at the edge of the marshes just east of Brookline Bridge,— the last remaining relic of the chain of fortifications erected for the Siege of Boston. The Council intends to follow up this matter until satisfactory results are secured.

At the council meetings, the following persons, having signified their wish to join the Society, have been duly elected regular members:

Charles Almy
William Brewster
Walter Benjamin Briggs
William Morris Davis
Ernest James Dennen

Ephraim Emerton
James Richard Jewett
Flora Virginia Livingston
Grace Edith Corson O'Conor
Roscoe Pound
Helen Leah Reed
Frederick William Rogers
Gertrude Swan Runkle
Francis Webber Sever
Alice Durant Smith
Alfred Marston Tozzer
Jens Iverson Westengard

and as associate members:

John Herbert Barker
Minnie Esther Briggs
Eunice Felton

During the past year the Society has lost by death:

Flora Viola Allen
George Vasmer Leverett (Associate)
Robert Job Melledge
Anne Theresa Morison

and by resignation, etc.,

Helen Warner Aubin
Margaret Harris Aubin
William L. Kiernan
Caroline Loring Pousland

Among the regular members therefore the new arrivals have been 17 and the losses 7, a net gain of 10, giving us a present total of 168 out of an authorized membership of 200.

The fluctuations in membership experienced by the Society in its short career are not without instruction and guidance for the future. During the first few years, the membership was continued at its maximum of 200, and vacancies were filled so promptly that in 1909, when the number of resignations was unusually large, there were actually 240 names on the printed list of regular members, producing an income from annual dues of nearly $600. After that date the list grew smaller until 1914, when it reached its minimum of 147 names,

including 7 starred as deceased. From that low-water mark the tide has gradually risen again to the present level of 168. But the curiously unstable tenure which has so far characterized membership in this Society has resulted in the somewhat surprising fact that to secure these 168 survivors, so to speak, it has been necessary during the past dozen years to elect no less than 417 persons to membership (including charter members). Thus if in 7 years, according to the old saw, the human body is completely renovated, our body corporate does not lag far behind.

The most notable year for elections was 1914, when the Society faced a yawning chasm of some 60 vacancies. A "whirlwind campaign" was thereupon hastily undertaken to secure the needful number of hardy souls who, like a whole platoon of Marcus Curtiuses, would leap simultaneously into the gulf. In truth it was not so much a leap as a push, since little attention was paid to the candidates' attitude towards the Society, or even their present or past membership therein. In consequence, a good deal of confusion and misunderstanding occurred, and even additional resignations. The secretary has now prepared a complete catalogue of all persons who since the founding of the Society have declined their elections, or resigned, died, removed, or otherwise terminated their membership. By means of this catalogue it is hoped that such confusion may be avoided in the future, and that we may soon attain not only to our former full complement of active members, but to that extraordinarily stimulating appendage — a waiting list.

The coöperation of all present members is therefore seriously requested in suggesting the names of persons interested in our local history who have signified their desire to join us. Among these new members there should be a not inconsiderable proportion of younger people, not only to increase the stability of membership but to awaken in the rising generation the same interest in our community's annals that we ourselves have come to feel in maturer years. One of the most encouraging occurrences of the past season has been the receipt by the secretary of a letter of enquiry on a point of local history from one of the pupils in the Cambridge High School. The more that the Society can do to foster such interest, the broader and more successful will be its influence and reputation. In this field the Society is only at the beginning of its usefulness; and for cultivating it, also, suggestions will be gladly received.

The advisability of filling our ranks to the maximum is evident, if for no other reason, from the shrinkage of membership dues, which from $596 in 1909 have recently fallen as low as $446. During the period of this shrinkage, moreover, not only has the cost of printing our annual Proceedings very greatly increased, but we have bravely embarked upon a number of subsidiary expenditures, which by this time have reached totals that may well give us pause. Over four hundred dollars have been spent in cataloguing and classifying our collections, which, it must be admitted, are not yet of that size and importance that we might wish. Over eighty dollars have been appropriated towards the still unfinished index of Paige's History of Cambridge. Over sixty dollars have been used for the purchase of original manuscripts; and the like sum has gone for copying others. The mere printing bills for the notices of the three regular meetings have sometimes exceeded fifty dollars a year. The last item has been very greatly reduced this season. As to the others, it is plain that such objects, interesting and legitimate though they be, must for the present be postponed, and the Society's modest income concentrated on the advancement of its somewhat backward offspring, the annual volumes of Proceedings. Otherwise the Publication Committee must adopt one of three courses: it must either lower the present high standard of completeness and make-up, or allow the dates of issue to fall hopelessly behind, or resort to the unpleasant paradox of a regular special subscription.

At present the Committee seems headed towards the second of these courses. The delay in undertaking the issue of Vol. XI, due last October, has been chiefly caused by the more than exhausted state of the already weakened treasury after paying for Vol. X, which was not only of unusual size and elaboration but was printed at a time when the mere cost of paper had more than doubled — a maximum from which it has now fortunately much receded. To compensate our members for this delay however, each will receive within a few weeks a free copy of the volume of the Letters of John Holmes, compiled under the auspices of the Society by a special committee, and to be issued in November by Houghton Mifflin and Company. By the generous kindness of certain members, the Society is under no financial obligations in this, its first venture into such fields — but assuredly not its last!

The general meetings of the Society have been held in the houses

of various hospitable members, according to the recently established practice (inaugurated by Miss Longfellow in 1915), a vast improvement over the previous system of hiring public halls — formal, uncomfortable, and especially depressing from their obviously unnecessary size. To the said hospitable members we express our deep appreciation. It is only to their credit that they have occasionally displayed a certain restiveness under the carefully considered rule which deprives them from all opportunity of offering their fellow members that form of hospitality appealing more directly to the stomach than to the brain — and hence by common report to the heart. It is felt however that under present conditions at least this rule should be more honored in the observance than in the breach.

These meetings, with the principal events of each, have been as follows: —

Annual meeting, Oct. 24, 1916, at the house of President Thayer. Presentation of reports and election of officers. Memoir of our deceased member Edith Dana Longfellow, by Mary Isabella Gozzaldi. Paper on "Early Cambridge Diaries," by Harriette Merrifield Forbes of Worcester.

Winter meeting, Jan. 23, 1917, at the house of the Misses Horsford. Appointment of a committee on the better care and accessibility of the original papers in the early court and county files at East Cambridge. Extracts from the Journal of Mary Sophia Quincy, read by her granddaughter, Mrs. Mark Anthony DeWolfe Howe. Contemporary accounts of Commencement Day, 1829 (supplementary to the above), read by William Coolidge Lane. Paper on the "Kappa Delta" of Cambridge, 1804–18, by George Hodges. Appreciation of our deceased member Archibald Murray Howe, read by Richard Henry Dana.

Spring meeting, May 1, 1917, at the house of the Rev. George Hodges. Announcement of the award of the Longfellow Centenary Prize Medal for the year to Dorothy Henderson, of the English High School. Adoption of a set of resolutions endorsing the action of the President and the Congress of the United States in declaring war against Germany and joining the cause of the Allies: a copy of these resolutions was sent to President Wilson. Address by Charles William Eliot on "Personal Recollections of Dr. Morrill Wyman, Professor Dunbar, Professor Sophocles, and Professor Shaler."

The appearance during the past year of the belated Vol. X of the

Society's regular Publications occasions some retrospective glances at the first decade of our contributions towards our announced object "of promoting interest and research in relation to the history of Cambridge." It is noticeable that all our public anniversaries but one, and a great proportion of the papers read before us, have been of a personal and biographical nature. Lives and letters of the distinguished departed are always of general interest, and especially so in Cambridge, an unusually rich field during the past century. The same may be said of the strong tendency which appears in the frequent introduction of subjects properly belonging to the chronicles of Harvard College, an institution so inextricably intertwined with the life of our community that a very natural difficulty is found in preventing our publications from becoming unduly devoted to Harvardiana. Yet in the prescient words of a former secretary —

"A work larger, more varied, and fully as important, lies before us and demands much more attention that it has thus far received. And that is the patient, systematic study and publication of the development, characteristics, and influence of the life, social, political, educational, and commercial, of our community. . . . But not only is this work laid out for us. We have also the men and women to do it; and we have in our annual Publication and in our long list of valuable exchanges a suitable channel for the publication and preservation of this work. . . . If this work be done, the society will be of great service and of constantly increasing influence." (Report for October, 1909.)

Along such lines as these the members at large can coöperate most helpfully with the Council by suggesting topics and speakers for future meetings.

In this connection there may be noted an unfortunate condition attaching to several of the most valuable papers read before us in former years — that their authors have not been willing to have them printed in the Society's Publications. We have in consequence not only been deprived of the contributions of various leading authorities in different historical fields, but have been obliged to send forth annual volumes in some cases painfully attenuated, and calculated to give a quite erroneous impression of the Society's standards. Not a single one of our last five volumes but has thus suffered to a greater or less degree. In future all papers read before the Society should be with the understanding that at least the substance of them shall appear in the Proceedings.

With the appearance of our tenth issue there also obtrudes the fact that so far nothing has been done in the way of preparing an index. Much smaller and less influential local historical societies in our neighborhood are scrupulously prompt in their indexing work, and it would seem that the tenth volume of our series marks a logical point for a general index of their contents, which must otherwise remain practically inaccessible to the student or investigator who turns to them with the natural expectation that he will find them at least as helpful as those of the average modern historical society. With any extended set of such publications an index is not an expensive luxury — it is an expensive necessity. That statement indeed requires qualification: an index needs must be a necessity, but need not be expensive, if a few interested members will volunteer to assist in its preparation. For those of us who really have the good of the Society at heart, and yet from excess of Cantabrigian modesty feel unequal to contributing papers for its benefit, no opportunity for greater or more lasting service could be offered.

Aboard the good ship "C.H.S." then, the duties are not confined to the officers and those (in the felicitous phrase of a certain ancient mariner) who labor with the speaking-trumpet. On the contrary, all hands, from the lookout in the crow's nest to those who feed the financial fires, have work galore. In the mind's eye one likes to picture the possibilities of the scene. Some are in the chart house, laying out the course and suggesting the best ports of entry for the voyage, with the treasures that may be expected at each. Some are on deck, artfully pulling ropes (or strings) for the benefit of the vessel and her enterprise. Some are below, listing and checking up the freight already in the hold. Some are busily at work on the magazine. Some are kindly preparing their cabins for the general musters which are to be held there. And meantime a vigilant press gang is ashore, on the lookout for likely young candidates to add to the crew. Such are the potentialities. May they soon be accomplished facts!

Samuel F. Batchelder,
Secretary.

Cambridge,
23 October, 1917.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

I beg to submit my report as Curator of the Society for the year which has elapsed since my election in 1916.

So far as I am aware, no report on the Society's collection has been made since it was removed from the Cambridge Public Library to the Widener Memorial Library, where it is now shelved in close proximity to the Harvard collection on United States History.

In 1916 the books were carefully classified and shelf-numbers were assigned to them under the direction of Mr. Gordon W. Thayer, then a member of the Harvard Library staff; and the greater part of the cataloguing was brought up to date at the same time. The catalogue of the collection is in the Bibliographical Room of the Widener Library.

A careful examination of the sets of continued publications received by the Society revealed the fact that many of the files were incomplete. In the spring of this year application was made to the various societies with which we have exchange relations, requesting that, if possible, the missing parts be supplied. We have, as a result of these applications, succeeded in filling many gaps; but there are still numerous cases where our sets must remain broken, as the parts asked for are now out of print.

There have been 66 volumes, 37 pamphlets, and 351 numbers of continued publications received during the year. A list of the donors is appended.

Respectfully submitted,

Edward L. Gookin,
Curator.

ACCESSIONS, 1916–17.

Allen, Dr. Gardner Weld. Boston, Mass.
36th-39th reports of the Registry Department of Boston.
Lamb, George, *comp.* Series of plans of Boston. (Supplement to vol. II, Boston Town Records.)

American Irish Historical Society.
Journal. Vol. 11 (1912); vol. 15, no. 3 (1916); vol. 16, nos. 1, 2 (1917).

Bigelow, Francis Hill. Cambridge.
Walling, H. F. Map of the city of Cambridge. 1854.
——— Map of Middlesex County. 1856.

Bostonian Society. Boston.
Proceedings. Jan. 20, 1914; Jan. 19, 1915; Jan. 18, 1916.

Brookline Historical Society.
Proceedings at annual meeting, Jan. 24, 1917.

Chicago Historical Society.
Annual report for the year ending October 31, 1916.

Connecticut Historical Society.
Collections. Vol. 15 (1914); vol. 16 (1916).

Cook, Frank Gaylord. Cambridge.
The First Church in Cambridge: Services at the installation of Rev. Raymond Calkins, D.D., etc.

Dana, Richard Henry. Cambridge.
Agreement with Massachusetts Historical Society in regard to portraits of Col. Henry Vassall and his wife, Penelope R. Vassall. 1917.
Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association:
Records. 3 vols.
Address-book.
Journal of the Publication Committee.
14th, 15th, 17th, 19th–21st annual reports of the Executive Committee.
First draft of a bill to regulate the appointment of Fourth Class Postmasters.
First and Second drafts of proposed bill for a new election law for Massachusetts. 1888.

Durant, Mrs. William Bullard. Cambridge.
Hopkins, G. M. Atlas of the City of Cambridge. 1886.
Hubbard, Gardiner G. Discoverers of America. 1893.
Livermore, George. Historical research respecting the opinions of the founders of the Republic on negroes as slaves, as citizens, and as soldiers. 1863.
Palmer, George H. Expenses at Harvard. 1887.
Rolfe, W. J. and Ayer, C. W. History of the Cambridge Public Library. 1908.
Scudder, Horace E. Henry Oscar Houghton: a biographical outline. 1897.
Volume of blank tickets for the Massachusetts Land Lottery, 1786.

Felton, Mrs. Cornelius Conway. Cambridge.
Manuscript of a lecture by C. C. Felton before the Cambridge Lyceum. December 25, 1850.

Harris, Miss Elizabeth. Cambridge.
Package of letters and documents, early newspapers, maps, etc. (not yet sorted).

Illinois State Historical Library.
Journal of Illinois State Historical Society. Vol. 7, no. 4; vol. 8, nos. 1–4; vol. 9, nos. 1–3; vol. (1915–16).
Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library. Vols. 8–12.

Indiana State Library.
Publications of Indiana Historical Society. Vol. 2, nos. 6–9; vol. 4, nos. 6, 8; vol. 5, nos. 3–6.
Bulletin of Indiana State Library. Vol. 12, no. 2 (June, 1917).
Ipswich Historical Society.
Publications, nos. 20, 21 (1915, 1916).
Kansas State Historical Society.
Collections. Vols. 10 (1907/08)–13 (1913/14).
Lancaster County (Pa.) Historical Society.
Papers read before the . . . Society. Vol. 20, nos. 6–10; vol. 21, nos. 1–5. (1916–17).
Lane, William Coolidge. Cambridge.
Chamberlain, Mellen. A documentary history of Chelsea. 1908. 2 vols.
London Public Library. London, Ontario, Canada.
Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society. Parts 1–8. 1908–17.
Longfellow, Miss Alice Mary. Cambridge.
Manuscript account book of Andrew Craigie, 1792–1794.
Louisiana Historical Society.
Louisiana historical quarterly. Vol. 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1917).
Lynn Historical Society.
Register. Vol. 19 (1915).
Maine Historical Society.
Proceedings, Jan. 25, 1913–June 26, 1914 (1915).
Documentary history of the state of Maine. Vols. 23 and 24 (1916).
Massachusetts Historical Society.
Proceedings. Vol. 49 (1915–16).
Medford Historical Society.
Historical register. Vol. 18, nos. 1–4 (1915); vol. 20, nos. 1–3 (1917).
Middlesex County (Conn.) Historical Society.
Pamphlet, no. 14 (June, 1917).
Minnesota Historical Society.
19th biennial report. 1917.
Collections. Vols. 11, 14, and 15.
Minnesota history bulletin. Vol. 1, nos. 1–8; vol. 2, nos. 1, 2 (1915–17).
State Historical Society of Missouri.
8th biennial report, for two years ending Dec. 31, 1916.
Circulars, nos. 15 and 16.
Missouri historical review. Vol. 8, no. 2 (1914); Vol. 11, nos. 1–4 (1916–17); vol. 12, no. 1 (1917).
Historical Society of Newburgh Bay and the Highlands. Newburgh, N.Y.
Publications. Nos. 1, 5, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, and 17.
New Hampshire Historical Society.
Proceedings. Vol. 5 (1905–12).
New Hampshire State Library.
State papers of New Hampshire. Vols. 31, 32, and 33.

New Jersey Historical Society.
Proceedings. *3d series*, vol. 4, no 1; vol. 5, no. 2; vol. 6, no. 3; vol. 8, nos. 1, 2; *New series*, vol. 1, nos. 3, 4 (1916); vol. 2, nos. 1–3 (1917).

Historical Society of New Mexico.
Publications, nos. 18 and 19 (1913–1914).

New York Public Library.
Bulletin. Vols. 1–17 (1897–1913); vol. 20, nos. 11–12 (1916); vol. 21, nos. 1–8 (1917).

Norton, Miss Sara. Boston.
Subscription paper for the first (?) evening school in Cambridge. 1867.

Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.
Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly.
Vol. 19, no. 3; vol. 20, no. 1; vol. 21, nos. 1–3; vol. 22, no. 2; vol. 23, nos. 2, 3; vol. 24, nos. 2, 3; vol. 25, nos. 2, 3; vol. 26, nos. 1–3 (1910–17).

Oklahoma Historical Society.
Historia. Vol. 6, no. 4 (Oct. 1, 1916); vol. 7, nos. 1–3 (Jan. 1, 1917–July 1, 1917).

Oregon Historical Society.
Address of Frederick V. Holman: Some instances of unsatisfactory results under initiative amendments of the Oregon constitution. 1910.
Annual reports of the Park Board, Portland, Oregon, 1908–12.
Williams, George H. Occasional addresses. 1895.
Programmes of 38th, 40th, 42d–44th annual reunions of the Oregon Pioneer Association (1910–16).
Oregon Historical Society Quarterly. Vol. 11, no. 3; vol. 12, nos. 3, 4; vol. 13, no. 1; vol. 14, no. 3; vol. 15, nos. 2, 3; vol. 16, nos. 1, 2; vol. 17, nos. 3, 4; vol. 18, no. 1.
A souvenir of the 73d anniversary of the organization of the first American civil government west of the Rocky Mountains. 1916.

The Pennsylvania Society. New York City.
Year book. 1916 and 1917.

Commercial Museum. Philadelphia.
Annual reports for 1909, 1913, and 1915.

Rhode Island Historical Society.
Report of the treasurer, 1916.
Westminster Street, Providence, as it was about 1824. 1917.

Rochester (N.Y) Historical Society.
Handbook. 1916.

Siebert, Wilbur H. Columbus, Ohio.
The Loyalist refugees of New Hampshire. 1916.

Smithsonian Institution. Washington.
Proceedings of the 11th annual conference of historical societies, 1914. Washington, 1916.

Society of Pennsylvania Women. New York City.
[Constitution, list of members, etc.] (1916.)

University of Toronto Library.
Review of historical publications relating to Canada. Vol. 20: publications for year 1915 (1916).

Library of Congress. Washington.
List of the more important personal papers in the Manuscript Division. 1916.
[List of] Publications issued by the Library since 1897. 1917.
Report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

Vineland (N.J.) Historical and Antiquarian Society.
Annual report for year ending October 10, 1916.
Vineland historical magazine. Vol. 2, nos. 1–4 (1917).

Virginia Historical Society.
Virginia magazine of history and biography. Vol. 21, no. 2 (1913); vol. 24, no. 4 (1916); vol. 25, nos. 1–3 (1917).

Virginia State Library.
Bulletin. Vol. 7, nos. 1–3 (1914).

Washington University State Historical Society.
Washington historical quarterly. Vol. 8, nos. 1–3 (1917).

Wisconsin Archaeological Society.
The Wisconsin archeologist. Vol. 16, nos. 1, 2 (1917).

State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
Proceedings at its 62d and 64th annual meetings, 1914 and 1916.

Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. Wilkes-Barré, Pa.
Proceedings and collections. Vol. 15 (1917).

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Cash Account

In obedience to the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of the Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1916–17.

RECEIPTS

Balance, 26 October, 1916			$289.63
Admission Fees		$20.00	
Annual Assessments: Regular Members	$459.00		
Associate Members	8.00	467.00	
Interest		10.20	
Society's Publications sold		1.00	498.20

Contributions to meet Deficit on account of the unusual length of the papers and exercises included in the Annual Volume issued this year:

William E. Stone	$25.00
James A. Noyes	25.00
William Read	10.00
Katharine Horsford	5.00
Andrew McFarland Davis	25.00
William R. Thayer	25.00
Edward S. Dodge	25.00
Fred Norris Robinson	25.00
Sarah M. Toppan	25.00
George A. Sawyer	25.00
Mary I. Gozzaldi	15.00
Edwin A. Grozier	25.00
Moses P. White	25.00
Henry D. Yerxa	12.50
Clarence H. Poor	10.00
Emma F. Carey	25.00
Francis A. Foster	10.00
Edward W. Forbes	10.00
Richard H. Dana	25.00
Woodward Emery	5.00
Alice Mary Longfellow	25.00
Mrs. William Bartlett Lambert	25.00

Lillian H. Farlow	25.00	
George V. Leverett	25.00	
Henry H. Edes	25.00	502.50
Richard H. Dana, to reimburse the Society for the cost of the photogravure plates of Colonel and Mrs. Henry Vassell, given by him to the Society		108.00
		$1,398.33

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press, Printing, etc.	$929.57	
Samuel Usher, Printing notices of meetings, etc.	17.50	
The Cosmos Press, Inc., Printing letter circulars	3.75	
McCarter & Kneeland, Printing stationery, etc.	20.25	
Cotton & Gould, Perforating and numbering checkbook	3.87	
Cambridge Savings Bank, deposited on Book No. 54,254	100.00	
A. W. Elson & Co., Photogravure plates of Colonel and Mrs. Henry Vassell and plate printing	108.00	
Ewing W. Hamlen, Transcript of President Eliot's Address	23.25	
Sarah L. Patrick, Typewriting report, papers, envelopes, etc.	9.00	
Marion H. Tiffany, Stenographic work	2.50	
Helen E. Lilly, Clerical services rendered the Secretary	26.09	
Edward L. Gookin, Services as Curator for year 1916–1917	25.00	
Disbursements for petty items	9.38	
Elsie E. Minton, Clerical services rendered the Treasurer	25.00	
Mary I. Gozzaldi, Expense incurred on Paige's Index	25.76	
Postage	6.00	1,334.92
Balance on deposit 22 October, 1917		63.41
		$1,398.33

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer.

Cambridge, 23 October, 1917.

I find the foregoing account from 26 October, 1916 to 22 October, 1917 to have been correctly kept and to be properly vouched. I have also verified the cash balance of $63.41.

Fred N. Robinson, *Auditor.*

Boston, 23 October, 1917.

NECROLOGY

Robert Job Melledge

Robert Job Melledge, son of James Parker and Sarah Jane (Job) Melledge, was born in Cambridge, June 30, 1855. He prepared for college at Hopkinson's School, Boston; entering Harvard in 1873, he received the degree of A.B. in 1878. For many years he was associated with Mr. William R. Ellis in the management of property and the buying and selling of real estate, with offices in Cambridge and Boston. The partnership name was Ellis & Melledge; and after the death of Mr. Ellis in 1902, Mr. Melledge continued as successor to that firm until his own death in 1917.

Mr. Melledge, perhaps more than any one else, was consulted about real estate matters in Old Cambridge; and all who dealt with him were sure of getting good disinterested advice. He was always more mindful of his client's interests than he was of his own.

He lived with his mother and sister in Hubbard Park and his devotion to them was unceasing. He had a quaint, dry humor and was an interesting companion for his classmates and those who were his intimate friends. An independent democrat in politics, he never sought and never held office. He never married. He died in Cambridge, January 20, 1917.

Joseph Hodges Choate

Joseph Hodges Choate, who was an honorary member of the Cambridge Historical Society, was born in Salem, January 24, 1832, the son of George Choate and Margaret Manning Hodges.

A graduate of Harvard College, he received his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1852, followed by the degree of LL.B., 1854, and the honorary degrees of A.M., 1860, and LL.D. in 1888; and from other colleges, LL.D. Amherst 1887, Williams 1905, University of Pennsylvania 1908, and Union 1909; from Canada, LL.D. McGill 1913 and Toronto 1915; in England, from Cambridge, LL.D. 1900, Oxford, D.C.L. 1902; and lastly Scotland, LL.D. Edinburgh, 1900, St. Andrews 1902 and Glasgow 1904.

In 1855, Mr. Choate was admitted to the Massachusetts Bar, but soon went to New York, where he continued in practice for the rest of his life.

While actively engaged in his profession, he held many offices of public trust. In 1871, he was one of the Committee of 70, which broke up the Tweed Ring. In 1894, he became president of the New York Constitutional Convention, and was Ambassador to England 1899–1905; elected Honorary Bencher of the Middle Temple, April 10, 1905; and appointed Ambassador and first delegate from the United States to the International Peace Conference at the Hague, 1907. He was also a member of many learned and distinguished bodies, being foreign honorary fellow of the Royal Society of Literature; also a member of the American Philosophical Society, and of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

In social club life, he was president of the Union League and Harvard Clubs, and of the New England Society of New York.

Of legal associations, he was a member of the New York City Bar, the American Bar, the New York State Bar, and the Harvard Law School Association.

He was a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Equitable Life Assurance Society.

He gave many addresses upon famous men: — Abraham Lincoln, Admiral Farragut, Rufus Choate; and upon the Supreme Court of the United States, and many other subjects. Among the latest of his addresses was the notable one upon Richard Henry Dana, Jr., on the centenary of his birth, October 15, 1915, given before the Cambridge Historical Society, at Sanders Theatre.

His gift of a stained glass window to Southwark Cathedral in London, in memory of John Harvard, and his many felicitous speeches, while Ambassador to Great Britain, did much to strengthen the friendly ties between the two nations.

He married Miss Caroline Dutcher Sterling, of Cleveland, Ohio, October 16, 1861. His death occurred May 14, 1917.

A man of great and varied gifts and accomplishments, as lawyer, orator, wit, diplomatist, patriot, he was a great citizen, a true American.

Henry Oscar Houghton

Henry Oscar Houghton was born in Cambridge, February 18, 1856, son of Henry Oscar Houghton and Nancy Wyer Manning. His father was born in Sutton, Vermont, the son of William Houghton and Marilla Clay. His mother was the daughter of William Manning of Cambridge. On both the paternal and maternal sides, Mr. Houghton was of old colonial stock, the names of Houghton and Manning both appearing in the early records of Watertown and Cambridge.

Henry prepared for College at Chauncy Hall School in Boston, and at the Cambridge High School, entering Harvard in 1873, receiving the degree of A.B. in 1877. After graduation, Mr. Houghton at once became associated in business with his father, who was the head of the firm of Houghton Mifflin & Co., publishers, and proprietors of the Riverside Press in Cambridge; after the death of Mr. Houghton, senior, August 25, 1895, his son succeeded him as head of the firm.

He was a man of great business ability, an indefatigable worker, and a citizen of great public spirit, giving liberally of his time and his means for the welfare of the Cambridge that he loved. From March 20, 1895, until March 24, 1897, he was President of the Citizen's Trade Association. In 1895 and 1896 he was Chairman of the Citizens' Committee appointed to conduct the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Incorporation of Cambridge as a city. He was trustee of the Cambridge Hospital, and a member of the Finance Committee of the Cambridge School of Nursing.

Interested in city politics, he served faithfully as Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Non-Partisan Municipal Party, and was a member of the earlier Temple Hall, and Library Hall parties.

At Boston, he was a director of the International Trust Co., and the John Hancock Life Insurance Co.

For several years Mr. Houghton was Chairman of the House Committee of the Colonial Club of Cambridge, a member of the Oakley Country Club of Belmont, and President of the Tedesco Club of Swampscott, and had much to do with the building of the new clubhouse.

He married Rose Rysse Gilman (daughter of Arthur Gilman) in Cambridge, December 6, 1884. Their children were:

Henry Oscar, born May 25, 1888, died May 25, 1888;
Rosamond, born August 23, 1894 (now Mrs. William Perry Dudley)
Virginia, born July 29, 1898.

Mr. Houghton died at Swampscott after a short illness, on June 14, 1906. The funeral services took place in Cambridge at Christ Church, of which Mr. Houghton was a member, where a great company of friends and associates assembled to pay the last tribute of regard and respect.

Anne Theresa Morison

Anne Theresa (Abbot) Morison, the wife of Robert Swain Morison, was born in Washington, D.C., August 15, 1846, daughter of George Jacob Abbot, and Ann Taylor Gilman Emery.

Her father was the son of Rev. Jacob Abbot of Hampton Falls, N.H. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1835, and for many years was connected with the State Department, serving as private Secretary to Daniel Webster, when he was Secretary of State.

Her mother was the daughter of Hon. Nicholas Emery, a Justice of the Supreme Court of Maine. He was a graduate of Dartmouth in 1795, a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Maine, and a member of the Maine Legislature from 1820 to 1822.

Miss Abbot's home was in Washington until 1865; but the last three years of this time were spent in Cambridge, where she was a pupil at the school of Mr. Williston. From 1865 to 1872 Miss Abbot was in Europe, living for five years at Sheffield, England, where her father was American consul. On the return to this country in 1872, her home was at Meadville, Pennsylvania, until 1878.

Miss Abbot's marriage to Mr. Morison, who was pastor of the Independent Congregational (Unitarian) Church in Meadville, took place February 21, 1877. Their home was later for a few years in Peterborough, New Hampshire, and this remained their home for the summers after 1885, when Cambridge became their permanent residence. Here Mr. Morison took up the duties of librarian of the Harvard Divinity School in 1889.

Mrs. Morison was a true daughter of New England, tracing her descent from many of the well-known colonists. Her father was descended from the Rev. John Cotton, by a line in which every man was a minister, and every woman a minister's wife. On the maternal

side she was descended from Anne Hutchinson, by a line of ten generations, where six of the seven women bore the name of Anne. Mary Chilton of Mayflower fame, was also in the ancestral line, as well as many of the leading men of the colony — Governor Thomas Dudley, Colonel William Pepperell, and President John Rogers of Harvard College, leading back to John Rogers the martyr.

With many inherited Puritan traits and virtues, in justification of her descent Mrs. Morison united strength of character with great sweetness of nature, filling her life with service for others. Devoted to her home and family, she yet found time for public interests, doing much for the movement for vacation schools in Cambridge, and later, prominently identified with the establishment of public playgrounds. The work of the Moore Street Neighborhood House was also warmly supported by her.

In the social life of Cambridge, perhaps nothing brought Mrs. Morison more happy hours than her association with a Sewing Circle, called the "Bee," which was formed at the beginning of the Civil War, by a few young girls for patriotic work, and which has held together to the present day, with many of the original members, and still stands for useful work; it can truly be called a Cambridge institution. Of this circle Mrs. Morison was a member from the time of the Civil War.

Mrs. Morison's religious interests, connected with the First Parish (Unitarian) Church, were constant, and the sustaining faith of her life upheld her through a long illness, borne with steadfast courage and cheerfulness. Her death occurred on April 12, 1917, leaving a large circle of devoted friends to mourn her loss.

She was survived by her husband and two children: a daughter Ruth, the wife of Philip Price Sharples of Montclair, New Jersey, and a son, George Abbot, of South Milwaukee, Wisconsin, together with five grandchildren; also by two sisters, Mrs. Everett S. Throop, of Brooklyn, New York, and Mrs. Edgar H. Nichols of Cambridge.

REGULAR MEMBERS

1916–1917

Marion Stanley Abbot
*Flora Viola Allen
Mary Ware Allen
Oscar Fayette Allen
Charles Almy
Albert Francis Amee
Sarah Russell Ames
§Helen Warner Aubin
§Margaret Harris Aubin
Hollis Russell Bailey
Mary Persis Bailey
William Amos Bancroft
Samuel Francis Batchelder
Joseph Henry Beale, Jr.
Stoughton Bell
Edward McElroy Benson
Caroline Eliza Bill
Clarence Howard Blackall
Ariadne Blish
Warren Kendall Blodgett
Bertha May Boody
Edward James Brandon
William Brewster
Walter Benjamin Briggs
Adah Leila Cone Brock
Sumner Albert Brooks
Ellen Susan Bulfinch
Josephine Freeman Bumstead
Raymond Calkins
Emma Forbes Cary
Frank Gaylord Cook
George Howland Cox
Samuel McChord Crothers
Henry Orville Cutter
William W. Dallinger
Elizabeth Ellery Dana
Richard Henry Dana
Eugene Abraham Darling
Andrew McFarland Davis (L)
Mary Wyman Davis
William Morris Davis
George Clement Deane
Mary Helen Deane
Ernest Joseph Dennen
Mary Devens
§Mary Deane Dexter
Edward Sherman Dodge (L)
George Lincoln Dow
Edward Bangs Drew
Arthur Drinkwater
Martha Elizabeth Driver
William Harrison Dunbar
Grace Williamson Edes
Henry Herbert Edes
Charles William Eliot
Grace Hopkinson Eliot
Samuel Atkins Eliot
Ephraim Emerton
Woodward Emery
Martha Louisa S. Ensign
Prescott Evarts
Lillian Horsford Farlow
William Wallace Fenn
Marion Brown Fessenden

* Deceased § Resigned (L) Life Member

Edward Waldo Forbes
Worthington Chauncey Ford
Francis Apthorp Foster
Frances Fowler
Jabez Fox
Edith Davenport Fuller
Edward Locke Gookin
Warner Foote Gookin
Mary Isabella de Gozzaldi
Anna Lyman Gray
Edwin Atkins Grozier
Edwin Blaisdell Hale
Albert Harrison Hall
Elizabeth Harris
Albert Bushnell Hart
Frank Watson Hastings
Edward Young Hincks
George Hodges
Eliza Mason Hoppin
Cornelia Conway F. Horsford
Katherine Horsford
Alberta Manning Houghton
Rose Rysse Gilman Houghton
Arria Sargent Dixwell Howe
Clara Howe
Byron Satterlee Hurlbut
Eda Woolson Hurlbut
James Richard Jewett
George Frederick Kendall
Justine Houghton Kershaw
§William L. Kiernan
Basil King
Anna Read Lambert
William Coolidge Lane
*Isabelle W. Laurence
Maud Adela Lawson
Flora Virginia Livingston
Alice Mary Longfellow
Abbott Lawrence Lowell
Charles John McIntire
Philippe Belknap Marcou
*Robert Job Melledge
Dorothea Foote Merriman
Roger Bigelow Merriman
Emma Maria Cutter Mitchell
*Anne Theresa Morison
Robert Swain Morison
Velma Maria Morse
Emma Frances Munroe
Henry Atherton Nichols
John Taylor Gilman Nichols
Margaret Norton
James Atkins Noyes
Grace Edith Corson O'Conor
James Leonard Paine
Mary Woolson Paine
Henry Ainsworth Parker
Caroline Louisa Parsons
Bradford Hendrick Peirce
Anna Atwood Pickering
Edward Charles Pickering
William Henry Pickering
Clarence Henry Poor
Alfred Claghorn Potter
Roscoe Pound
§Caroline Loring Pousland
Harry Seaton Rand
William Read
Helen Leah Reed
William Bernard Reid
Fred Norris Robinson
James Lee Robinson
Frederick William Rogers
James Hardy Ropes
Gertrude Swan Runkle
John Cornelius Runkle

* Deceased § Resigned (L) Life Member

Paul Joseph Sachs
Eleanor Whitney D. Sanger
Carrie Huntington Saunders
Herbert Alden Saunders
Huntington Saville
George Augustus Sawyer
Grace Owen Scudder
Winthrop S. Scudder
Francis Webber Sever
Stephen Paschall Sharples
Alice Durant Smith
Philip Leffingwell Spalding
Henry Goodwin Spencer
Willard Hatch Sprague
Genevieve Stearns
William Eben Stone
William Donnison Swan
William Roscoe Thayer
Joseph Gilbert Thorp
Sarah Moody Toppan (L)
Alfred Marston Tozzer
Anna Morrill Walcott
Henry Bradford Washburn
Edith Forbes Webster
Kenneth Grant T. Webster
Sarah Cordelia F. Wellington
Jens Iverson Westengard
Alice Merrill White
Moses Perkins White
William R. Whittemore
Susanna Willard
Olive Swan Williams
Mary Peyton Winlock
John William Wood, Jr.
George Grier Wright
Henry Detrick Yerxa

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Gardner Weld Allen
John Herbert Barker
Minnie Esther Briggs
Charles Moreland Carter
Eunice Whitney F. Felton
Gertrude Horsford Fiske
*George Vasmer Leverett (L.)
Ernest Lovering
Mary Lee Ware

HONORARY MEMBERS

*Joseph Hodges Choate
William Dean Howells
James Ford Rhodes

* Deceased § Resigned (L) Life Member

BY-LAWS

I. Corporate Name.

THE name of this corporation shall be "The Cambridge Historical Society."

II. Object.

The corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials, of procuring the publication and distribution of the same, and generally of promoting interest and research, in relation to the history of Cambridge in said Commonwealth.

III. Regular Membership.

Any resident of the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon signing the By-Laws and paying the fees therein prescribed.

IV. Limit of Regular Membership.

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred.

V. Honorary Membership.

Any person, nominated by the Council, may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VI. Associate Membership.

Any person not a resident, but either a native, or formerly a resident for at least five years, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible to associate membership in the Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the

persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate members shall be liable for an annual assessment of two dollars each, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting, but shall be liable for no other fees or assessments, and shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VII. Seal.

The Seal of the Society shall be: Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date, 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting-house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words *Scripta Manent.*

VIII. Officers.

The officers of this corporation shall be a Council of thirteen members, having the powers of directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, and a Curator, elected out of the Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

IX. President and Vice-President.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in the order of their election.

X. Secretary.

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XI. Treasurer.

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities, and shall keep in proper books the accounts, of the corporation. He shall receive

and collect all fees and other dues owing to it, and all donations and testamentary gifts made to it. He shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Council. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

XII. Curator.

The Curator shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of all Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials of the Society, except the records and books kept by the Secretary and Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIII. Council.

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for its meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of persons deemed qualified for honorary membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XIV. Meetings.

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in October in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of January, and April of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

XV. Quorum.

At meetings of the Society ten members, and at meetings of the Council four members, shall constitute a quorum.

XVI. Fees.

The fee of initiation shall be two dollars. There shall also be an annual assessment of three dollars, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting; but any Regular Member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury Fifty Dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of Twenty-five Dollars.

All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

XVII. Resignation of Membership.

All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual assessment within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

XVIII. Amendment of By-Laws.

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.

MEMORANDUM ON THE VASSALL PORTRAITS, ETC.

In the paper on Col. Henry Vassall in Vol. X of these Publications I stated (p. 8) that the portraits of the Colonel and his wife were the property of Richard H. Dana, Esq., and were hanging in the Treasure Room of the Harvard College Library. Mr. Dana has recently decided to place them in the hands of the Massachusetts Historical Society, with a provision for their possible future acquisition by the Cambridge Historical Society. The portraits, though still in the Treasure Room, have accordingly been transferred to the ownership of the Massachusetts Historical Society under the following deed of gift:

I hereby give to the Massachusetts Historical Society the following portraits, namely,—

One portrait of the late Colonel Henry Vassall, and

One portrait of his wife, Penelope Royall Vassall, both painted by John Singleton Copley, and now temporarily in the Widener Library of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Prior to the Revolutionary war, Col. Henry Vassall and his wife Penelope Royall, lived in the house now at the southeast corner of Brattle Street and Hawthorne Street, in Cambridge.

The gift of these portraits is made by me upon the following conditions: That if and when the Cambridge Historical Society has a suitable fireproof place, of sufficient dignity and importance to hang said portraits, the Massachusetts Historical Society shall loan said portraits to the Cambridge Historical Society, reserving to itself the right to exhibit in the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society said portraits, for periods not exceeding two months in any one year, and further, that if and when said Cambridge Historical Society shall have an endowment and property of a cash value of at least One Hundred Thousand Dollars, and further, has a suitable fire proof place of sufficient dignity and importance for hanging said portraits, then said Massachusetts Historical Society, instead of loaning said portraits to said Cambridge Historical Society, shall transfer and deliver said portraits to said Cambridge Historical Society in perpetuity.

The opinion of the said Massachusetts Historical Society, acting through its Council, shall be final upon all the above matters, and whether said portraits shall be loaned or transferred in perpetuity to the

Cambridge Historical Society shall rest wholly in the discretion of the said Council.

It is understood and agreed that the Massachusetts Historical Society shall have no other responsibility for the safe custody of these portraits than that it shall keep them under the same rules and regulations and with the same care which is exercised over the other portraits in its collection, and that if said portraits are loaned to the Cambridge Historical Society, under the terms stated in the foregoing condition of gift, that then the Massachusetts Historical Society shall have no responsibility for the safe keeping of these portraits while in the custody of the Cambridge Historical Society.

Witness my hand and seal this fourteenth day of February, A. D. 1917.

(Sd.) Richard H. Dana [L. S.]

In Vol. X, I also stated (p. 78) that a supplementary paper on certain uses of the Vassall House during the Revolution would appear in Vol. XI. The two phases which I had in mind were the occupation of the house in 1775 as the first hospital of the American Army, and its use in 1777–78 as quarters for some of Burgoyne's officers. The paper on the latter subject was considerably delayed, and will appear in Vol. XIII. The former subject, involving the whole question of the beginnings of the medical department of the Revolutionary Army, called for investigations which opened up such a mass of material that the limits of these Publications preclude its appearance therein. It will be issued, if at all, as an independent volume.

Samuel F. Batchelder.

The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS

XIII

PROCEEDINGS

For the Year 1918

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
Published by the Society
1925

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President	William Roscoe Thayer
Vice-Presidents	Andrew McFarland Davis Worthington Chauncey Ford Hollis Russell Bailey
Secretary	Samuel Francis Batchelder
Treasurer	Henry Herbert Edes
Curator	Edward Locke Gookin

Council

Hollis Russell Bailey	Edward Locke Gookin
Samuel Francis Batchelder	Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
Frank Gaylord Cook	George Hodges
Richard Henry Dana	William Coolidge Lane
Andrew McFarland Davis	Alice Mary Longfellow
Henry Herbert Edes	Fred Norris Robinson
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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FORTY-THIRD MEETING

THE FORTY-THIRD MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held 22 January, 1918, at the residence of Mrs. Robert de Wolfe Sampson, 108 Brattle Street, Cambridge.

The President called the meeting to order. The minutes of the last meeting were read and allowed.

In the absence of FRANK FOXCROFT, his paper on "The History of No-License in Cambridge" was read by the Rev. Henry Bradford Washburn. (Printed, pp. 9–16, *post.*)

The Secretary read a paper on "Burgoyne and His Officers in Cambridge, 1777–78." (Printed, pp. 17–80, *post.*) In connection with this paper, a Hessian sword owned by William Read was exhibited.

There being no business, the meeting then adjourned.

FORTY-FOURTH MEETING

THE FORTY-FOURTH MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was postponed from its regular date, the fourth Tuesday in April, to 15 June, 1918, and was then held at 4 P.M. in the rose garden of Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Grant Tremayne Webster at Gerry's Landing, Cambridge.

The President called the meeting to order and explained that the postponement had been made to try the experiment of a "garden party," and an opportunity for better acquaintance among the members.

The peculiarly varied and interesting associations connected with this locality — the starting point as it were of the history of the entire community, since it affords the first practicable landing beach in ascending Charles River from the ocean — were considered in a series of informal addresses.

MRS. WILLIAM GILSON FARLOW spoke on the traces of houses built here by the Northmen in the year 1000, discovered and identified by her father, Eben Norton Horsford.[1]

MRS. SILVIO M. GOZZALDI read a paper on the various owners of Gerry's Landing and its neighborhood. (Printed, pp. 81–88, *post.*)

WILLIAM ALLEN HAYES spoke on "Sir Richard's Way" and the early ferry that here crossed the river; also on the beautiful house built by Colonel Winchester on the site of the old Stone farmhouse, and the Colonel's interest in the military organizations of the state.[2]

SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT spoke on Forsyth Wilson, the poet, who for a time lived here as a neighbor of James Russell Lowell.[3]

The members then adjourned to the eastern terrace, overlooking the river, and refreshments were served. Many also accepted the invitation of Mr. Hayes to inspect his historic house and beautiful garden next door.

[1] See his *Leif's House in Vineland* (Boston, 1893), and *The Landfall of Leif Erikson* (Boston, 1892), containing valuable descriptions, maps, and photographs of this locality before the advent of modern improvements.
[2] See pp. 82 and 85, 86, *post.* The Winchester repeating rifle was named for him.
[3] See p. 87, *post.*

FORTY-FIFTH MEETING

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE FORTY-FIFTH MEETING, being the fourteenth annual meeting of the Society, was held (by adjournment) 30 October, 1918, at the residence of Mrs. William Gilson Farlow, 24 Quincy Street, Cambridge.

The President called the meeting to order. The minutes of the last meeting were read and allowed.

Voted that the President appoint a committee of three members to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

On this committee the President appointed Joseph Henry Beale, Mrs. Farlow, and George Grier Wright.

The Secretary read his annual report, with which was incorporated the annual report of the Council. (Printed, pp. 113–115, *post.*)

Voted that the above reports be accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

The Curator being absent on war work, no report was received from him at this time, but a list of accessions was subsequently received. (Printed, pp. 116–118, *post.*)

The Treasurer read his annual report, including an appeal for an endowment fund, or foundation, together with the certificate of the auditor. (Printed, pp. 119–121, *post.*)

Voted to accept the Treasurer's report and refer it to the Committee on Publication.

The Committee on Nominations brought in the following report:

President	WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER
Vice-Presidents	ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY
Secretary	SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER
Treasurer	HENRY HERBERT EDES
Curator	WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE

Council

Hollis Russell Bailey	Worthington Chauncey Ford
Samuel Francis Batchelder	Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
Frank Gaylord Cook	George Hodges
Richard Henry Dana	William Coolidge Lane
Andrew McFarland Davis	Alice Mary Longfellow
Henry Herbert Edes	Fred Norris Robinson

William Roscoe Thayer

Voted to accept the report and discharge the Committee.

On motion of the Reverend Prescott Evarts it was

Voted that the Secretary cast one ballot for the officers as nominated.

The President declared the above persons to be duly elected as officers of the Society for 1918–1919.

The President made a brief address, announcing that 912 copies of the *Letters of John Holmes*, issued under the auspices of the Society, had been sold to date. He read an appeal from the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, urging support for the constitutional amendment to be submitted on election day, November 5, authorizing the Commonwealth to acquire historic buildings and similar property.[1]

George Grier Wright then read a paper on "The Schools of Cambridge, 1800–1870." (Printed, pp. 89–112, *post*.) A general discussion followed: several members gave reminiscenses of their school days, old school medals and other rewards were exhibited, and Mr. Richard H. Dana presented an enlarged photograph of the old Jennison house next the Washington Elm, long used as a school, with a group of pupils in front of it, almost all of whom were identified.

The President gave notice of the public meeting of the Society to be held February 22 next, to commemorate the centenary of the birth of James Russell Lowell.

The meeting then adjourned, and light refreshments were served.

[1] This amendment (Art. LI) for "the preservation and maintenance of ancient landmarks and other property of historical or antiquarian interest" was duly passed.

NO-LICENSE IN CAMBRIDGE

By Frank Foxcroft

Read 22 January, 1918

As a member of the Citizens' No-license Committee of Cambridge for twenty fighting years, and Chairman of the Committee for fifteen years, it will be pardoned me, I hope, if my personal recollections sometimes blend with what should be an impersonal and historical review of the conditions under which No-license — regarded at first as a hazardous experiment — came to be the established policy of this city of more than one hundred thousand inhabitants.

It was in December, 1881, that the voters of Cambridge, under the recently enacted local-option law, were called upon to determine whether the sale of intoxicating liquors should be licensed in this city. It was not until December, 1886, after five years' experience with the licensed saloon, that a majority of the voters decided that they had had enough of it. For thirty-one years, almost the lifetime of a generation, they have repeated this decision. The majorities have varied, but they long ago passed the danger point; and when, once or twice in recent years, the liquor interests of Boston have been cajoled into putting up money for a license campaign in Cambridge, the only result has been to increase the No-license majority.

The methods of the first No-license campaign were simple. In October, the Home Protection League was formed, for the sole purpose of arousing the voters to the importance of the issue, and securing the largest possible vote against license. An appeal to the voters was issued, signed by one hundred and fifty representative citizens. Public meetings were held in the churches and elsewhere, culminating in a crowded meeting in Union Hall the night before the election, at which addresses were made by Mayor Fox, Dr. McKenzie, Col. Higginson and others; and provision was made for printing "No" ballots and distributing them at the polls, for those were the days before the Australian ballot, and a cause which wished the endorsement of the voters furnished its own material. There were a

few hours of rejoicing on the evening of the election, when the vote, as declared, showed a No-license majority of 46, in a total vote of 5,226. But, on a recount, errors were discovered, and the revised returns gave the city over to License by a majority of 6 votes.

In the second campaign, the same methods were followed as in the first, though more meetings were held, the direct coöperation of the various church and temperance organizations was invited, and a rallying committee of twenty from each of the five wards was appointed and did effective work. But the No-license vote fell off, and the License majority rose to 393 in 1882, to 594 in 1883, and to 1,137 in 1884. It would have been easy, after that, to give up the cause as hopeless; but the idea of doing so did not occur to any of us. I remember that, in the following fall, when I went around to collect money for the 1885 campaign, I assured the contributors that we intended to cut down the adverse majority one half that year, and to wipe it out altogether the next year. I was aware that I seemed a silly optimist. Yet that is exactly what happened. We reduced the License majority to 530 that year; and in 1886, we came back from the polls with a No-license majority of 566.

And what was it that accounted for this first No-license victory? One reason for it was an intensified No-license campaign. The Home Protection League gave place to a Citizen's No-license Committee, with branch committees in each precinct. The work of the Law and Order League, organized in 1883 by about two hundred conservative citizens to aid in the enforcement of the liquor laws, and whose first blow had been the conviction of the six leading hotel and saloon keepers in the city for Sunday selling, had made an impression upon public sentiment. The first number of *The Frozen Truth*, sent to every name upon the voting list, brought to the voters direct information about what was going on in the saloons and at City Hall. Father Scully, who came to be such a power in the cause, preached his first No-license sermon. Nineteen churches of various denominations arranged union services for the Sunday night before the election. The members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union assisted in the distribution of "No" ballots at the polls. The personal canvass of voters, work upon the check lists, and

arrangements for covering every precinct with workers, and providing carriages for forgetful, careless or invalid voters, were carried to an approximate perfection never before reached. It was well that it was so; for the election took place in the midst of the worst blizzard of the winter, and voters made their way to the polls through blinding snow and bitter cold.

But among the agencies which helped to secure the victory of 1886, the aid unintentionally given by the saloon keepers themselves should be gratefully acknowledged. They carried themselves with an arrogance which aroused public antagonism. They took such an active part in politics as to control the election of aldermen, and they bossed them afterward. Their pressure for a multiplication of saloons reached its climax in the application of one Dewire for a license in a building on Kirkland Street, nearly opposite the Norton estate. The Board of Aldermen granted the license, in spite of the remonstrances of residents in that vicinity, and in accordance with the declaration of the Chairman of the Committee on Licenses that moral interests were entitled to no consideration in such matters. The city wanted the license fees and it made no difference where the saloons were planted or who objected. At about the same time when the saloon dominance over the city government in the Dewire case, and also in the lax enforcement of the laws, was under discussion, two saloon murders, one of them the act of a saloon keeper, directed public attention to the moral fruits of the liquor traffic.

Outside of Cambridge, the first No-license victory in Cambridge was pretty generally regarded as a spasm of public sentiment, which would soon pass. The 122 saloon keepers took this view. The law permitted them to carry on their business until the first of May, and most of them kept open through the year, ostensibly for the sale of the lighter drinks, but enough of them reverting to their old practices to furnish considerable business to the courts.

Happily, however, neither the outside observers nor the Cambridge saloon keepers took account of the fact that the city was blessed with a mayor, in the person of William E. Russell, who could not easily be cowed. He had not favored No-license, but he promptly announced his purpose to see that it was thoroughly and impartially enforced, and he kept his word. The

police department acted accordingly. Happily also, there was no disposition to make in Cambridge the mistake made in so many communities — that of settling back comfortably after a first No-license victory, with the feeling that the contest is over.

On the contrary, it was felt that the success at the election of 1886 was not the end, but the beginning, of the fight. Immediate steps were taken to secure the fruits of the victory. The Law and Order League, which had rendered great service during the license years in prosecuting saloon keepers for Sunday selling and other violations of the law, gave place to the Law Enforcement Association, which, with an enrolled membership of more than a thousand citizens, furnished a stimulus to the authorities to do their full duty, gave them practical aid from time to time with information which it secured and sifted — though it did not undertake prosecutions on its own account — and, through the publication of a *Bulletin*, prepared by its Secretary, Mr. Edmund A. Whitman, and sent to every voter, kept the public well posted as to what was going on.

This work, pursued all through the summer of 1887, was followed in the fall by a house-to-house canvass of the voters, by close attention to registration and naturalization, by rallies, by the distribution of two numbers of *The Frozen Truth* to every voter, and by other activities. The No-license workers awaited the election of 1887 with the cheerful feeling that, whatever the result might be, they had done everything in their power to "hold the fort"; and their confidence was justified by the fact that the counting of the votes, on election night, exhibited one of the most astonishing coincidences in the history of politics. The total vote was nearly three thousand larger than in the preceding year; and this enormous additional vote was split exactly in two, and the No-license majority was again 566.

The next years were all of them fighting years. The saloons struggled desperately to get back, and they were financed by the Boston liquor interests — wholesalers, brewers and distillers — who missed their patronage. In the old days, they had been sureties on the bonds of the Cambridge saloon keepers, one wholesale dealer in Boston having signed thirteen bonds, and others from eight to ten each, showing that most of

the Cambridge saloons were practically distributing agencies for the wholesale houses of Boston. Now they fought hard to get back, and it was no easy task to defeat them. The No-license majority dropped to 493 in 1889, and to 486 in 1891, and was only 599 so late as 1894; but, after that, rose to secure figures.

The identity of the real enemy that was being fought through these years was disclosed in 1894 by the printing in *The Frozen Truth* of the facsimile of a typewritten circular letter, intended for the brewers and wholesale liquor dealers of Boston, which deplored the "desultory, wavering contest" which had been made by Cambridge ex-liquor dealers on the license side, and put forward a Cambridge ex-Representative in the legislature, who was described as an "open and valued champion of the liquor interests in the House," as the manager of the new campaign. The publication of this secret letter wrought havoc with the license campaign that year, and the "open and valued champion of the liquor interests," in spite of his financial backing, made no headway. The next year, the No-license majority rose to 1503.

The general principles which governed the No-license campaigns through these fighting years, and which help to explain why it is that Cambridge is the only city of its size which has steadily maintained a No-license policy, may be briefly stated. There is no patent upon them, and the more widely they are copied the better.

In the first place, the importance of a single vote was always emphasized. The lesson of the first election, which was lost by a margin of only six votes, was never forgotten. From year to year a record was kept of No-license voters who, for one reason or another, failed to vote, and courteous reminders were sent, telling them that their votes were needed. No-license checkers, at each voting place, drew off, early in the afternoon, lists of No-license voters who had not voted, and carriages and messengers were sent to their homes, with special reminder cards.

In the second place, the No-license cause was always kept distinct from all other issues, and from all questions of municipal parties or candidates.

A third principle, always kept in mind, was the avoidance of

all extravagance. The appeal was made to moderate men, and in a moderate way. It was never claimed that No-license would bring in the millennium, nor that it would be perfectly enforced. There was no vituperation of men who were not convinced that No-license was best. What was wanted was votes; and votes are not secured by vituperation. The unconvinced were treated as open to conviction; and, year by year, increasing numbers of them were won over by the visible, tangible results of No-license.

The most important principle of all remains to be mentioned. The platform was always made broad enough to hold any man who simply did not want the saloon back in Cambridge. No political, social or religious differences were allowed to separate No-license workers. All shades of political opinion were represented in the Citizens' No-license Committee; but political questions never were discussed in the Committee, and men worked together there, year after year, who could not have told each other's politics if they had tried. Even less, if that were possible, did religious differences count. Catholics and Protestants were closely associated in the Committee, and in all No-license activities, in relations of mutual respect and good will. Catholic priests and Protestant clergymen sat on the same platform and addressed the same audiences. Probably most of those who took an active part in the campaigns would agree that, next to the immediate gain of banishing the saloons, no advantage had been secured which was better worth the effort than the bringing together of men of different faiths upon a common platform for a common work. If I close my eyes for a moment, I can see now Dr. McKenzie, speaking from the platform of Union Hall in the unsuccessful years, declaring that we were about to close every saloon door, and throw away the key; and I can hear Father Scully, from the same platform, denouncing by name individual saloon keepers who had made themselves especially obnoxious. On election nights, I often sat beside Father Scully at City Hall, while the returns came in; and, when the figures seemed decisive, he would turn to me to ask whether it was safe to assume that No-license had won, and then he would hurry forth, with a smile upon his face, to ring his church bells. I remember well when he began to address me, in his letters, as

his "honored brother citizen"; and the phrase expressed well the mutual respect and regard which workers of different religious faiths entertained for each other.

The experience of Cambridge has refuted all of the old arguments against No-license. Some of them now sound so obsolete that it is hard to realize that sensible men ever used them. We used to be told that No-license was an interference with vested rights. We got by that at our first No-license victory. Since the first of May, 1887, there have been no vested rights in the liquor traffic in Cambridge. Since that date, every glass of liquor that has been sold for use as a beverage has been sold in violation of law; and every man who sold it, whether keeper of a kitchen barroom or of a gilt-edged drug store, has been a law breaker, no more deserving of sympathy than any other criminal.

We used to be told also that No-license could not be enforced in Cambridge; but it has been, under mayors who were in sympathy with it, and under those who were not. It used to be insisted that just as much liquor would be sold under No-license as under License; but that has been disproved. The arrests for drunkenness in Cambridge are vastly fewer than in license cities of corresponding size. In years in which direct comparisons were made, it was found that in Worcester, for example, the arrests in six months were more than twice as many as in Cambridge in twelve months; and in Lowell, they were more than two and a half times as many. That this improvement is not an accident or a mere coincidence is shown by the official figures of our State Bureau of Statistics of Labor, from which it appears, not only that arrests for drunkenness are much more numerous in License than in No-license communities, but that in the same communities which were for a part of the year under License, and a part of the year under No-license, the arrests in the License months were two to three times as many as in the No-license months.

It used to be strenuously insisted that No-license would injure local trade. We were told that men who went to Boston after liquor would do all their other trading there, and that local merchants would suffer accordingly. But we have got well by that argument. After a few years of No-license, 257 Cambridge merchants in all parts of the city and in all depart-

ments of trade signed for publication this statement: "The undersigned, business men of Cambridge, believe that No-license has benefited the material interests of Cambridge, and we hope for its continuance." One would have to scour the city today to find a recognized business man who wants the saloon back. How different would the moral conditions be, at this moment, if the thousands of young men in training for the military, aviation and naval services in this city were beset by the temptations of two hundred open saloons.

We used to be told with great vehemence that we could not afford to lose the license fees. But experience has proved that we cannot afford to take them. During ten years of License, the valuation of Cambridge declined more than three million dollars; during ten years of No-license it increased more than twenty-three million dollars. This increased valuation brought into the city treasury four or five times as much money as would have come from license fees, and every dollar of it honest money, without the stain of the dramshop on it. Anyone in Cambridge who should advance the revenue argument in favor of license would be as far behind the times today as a scientist who essayed to prove that the world is flat.

Any other comparison of material conditions would yield similar results. During the last ten License years, the population of Cambridge increased at the average rate of 1,182 per annum; during the next ten years, under No-license, the annual increase was 2,198, or nearly twice as much — a difference which seems to justify the conclusion that a city which votes the saloons out and keeps them out is a better place to live in than a city which tolerates them, and people find it out and move in. So, during the License decade, the increase in the number of houses in Cambridge was 1,516, compared with a gain of 3,325 during ten saloonless years. Also, during the ten License years, the average net annual increase in savings bank deposits was only $155,333.75; while in the following decade, under No-license, the average annual increase was $366,654.42, or more than twice as much.

Tested either by moral or material results, no reason can be found for deploring the decision which the voters of Cambridge reached in that blinding blizzard in December, 1886, and to which they have adhered ever since.

A List

British for
Foreigners
Sent to Ca
Lt Genl B
Wom
Prisoners of
Picked Wou
Deserters
Killd Wom
Ditto
Ditto
Ditto B

At Ben

A List of British Prisoners now in Hand

British prisoners by Capitulation	2442
Foreigners	2198
Sent to Canada	1100
Lt Genl Burgoyne's Staff Officers among whom are some Members of Parliament	12
Prisoners of War before the Capitulation	400
Sick & Wounded	598
Deserters	300
Killd Wounded & taken at Bennington	1220
Ditto Ticonderoga	413
Ditto Fort Schuyler	300
Ditto Battle Genl Harkimer Sept. 19th 1777	600
	9583

Cannon

At Bennington	2	12 Brass
	2	6 do
	2	3 do
Fort Schuyler	2	6 do Eight Royals
Battle 7th October	2	12 D°
	2	6 D°
Capitulation	2	24 D°
	2	12 D°
	12	6 D°
	9	3 D°
	2	8 Inch Howitz
	2	10 D° Mortars

400 Set of Harness

A No. of Ammunition Waggons compleat

51 Indians taken with their Arms after Capitulation

A List of the Staff Officers of Genl Burgoynes made Prisoners in Canada

Lt Genl Burgoyne

Maj. Genl Phillips

Capt. Lord Peter Sharn A.D.C. to his Excellency

Lt Wilford A.D.C. to D°

Lt Tufs A.D.C. to Maj. Genl Phillips

Capt. Grain D° to D°

Major Kingstone A.D.C. to Genl

Doct. Woos Surg.

Lt Ballancie } A.D.C. to Genl

Lt Baily }

Lt Campbell }

Capt Craig D.A. Adjutant

Ft
L. Goon
Major B
Mr Du
Mr Jon
Brigadie
Majr P
Majr Br
Mr Pb
Lt Nobl

Lt. Governor Scane
Major Brigade Shaw
Mr. David Graden D. Pay Master Genl.
Mr. Jonathan Clark D. C. Genl.
Brigadier Genl. Hamilton
Majr. Brigade Kirkman
Majr. Brigade of the Advance Corps Capt. Freeman
Mr. Pickersley D. Mr. Genl.
Lt. Noble Orderly Officer to Genl. Phillips

Signed by
Robert Kingston D. A. Genl.

BURGOYNE AND HIS OFFICERS IN CAMBRIDGE 1777–1778

By Samuel F. Batchelder

Read (in part) 22 January 1918

Of all the episodes connected with the history of the old mansion on Brattle Street still associated with the name of Colonel Henry Vassall,[1] its owner from 1741 to his death in 1769, and occupied by his widow Penelope until the exodus of the Tories from Cambridge in 1775, none is more piquant than the part it played in that almost forgotten chapter of Cambridge Revolutionary annals beginning on the sixth of November, 1777. On that date the little village, which had suffered so severely from its occupation by the American army during the Siege of Boston, found itself again invaded — and this time by the enemy. But it was a peaceful invasion, and an enemy without hostility, indeed without weapons, being in short the heterogeneous horde of British and Hessian[2] prisoners under Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne — commonly known as the "Convention Troops" — on their way from the fatal field of Saratoga to the transports that were expected soon to embark them at Boston and return them to England, according to the terms of their surrender.

Nevertheless the prospect even of their temporary stay in town was thoroughly alarming. "Is there not a degree of unkindness," exclaimed the wife of Professor Winthrop, "in loading poor Cambridge, almost ruined before this great army seemed to be let loose upon us? What will be the consequences, time will discover. . . . It is said we shall have not less than seven thousand persons[3] to feed in Cambridge and its environs, more than its inhabitants. Two hundred and fifty cords of wood will not serve them a week. Think then how we must be distressed." [4]

[1] This study was originally undertaken as an addendum to the author's account of Col. Vassall which appeared in these *Proceedings*, vol. x, pp. 5–85. See particularly p. 54.

[2] "Hessian" is used throughout this paper in its generic sense only. The mercenaries from Hesse-Cassell who have given their name to all the German troops in the Revolution were not in this campaign. Burgoyne's auxiliaries, originally numbering about 4500, were furnished almost entirely by the Duke of Brunswick.

[3] In reality about five thousand three hundred.

[4] Mrs. Winthrop to Mrs. Warren. Cambridge, Nov. 11, 1777. Ellett, *Women of the Revolution*, i, 98. Although we often picture our ancestors as embowered in the forests,

The first difficulty that presented itself was the lodging of the captive host. The ragamuffin rank and file, after surging through the streets for a few days of confusion, were securely if uncomfortably bestowed on Prospect and Winter Hills, a mile and a half away to the northward of the town (in what is now Somerville, then a part of Charlestown) in the rickety barracks left from the days of the Siege of Boston. "The whole neighborhood between Cambridge and Boston," wrote Captain Cleve of the Brunswick Battalion,[1] "is filled with these bare and barren hilltops, for the most part covered with barracks. Winterhill and Prospecthill, lying close by, have so many barracks that the former can lodge the German and the latter the English corps. These barracks have been erected without foundations, and with bare boards, through which, from above, below, and all around, drive in the wind, the rain, and the snow. They have no windows, only holes. . . . For five miles around, one sees neither trees nor bushes." [2]

The hardy British veterans and their stolid German allies were well accustomed to privations, but the prospect of passing a winter in such bird-cages was almost insupportable. They had left their warm clothing in Canada, and now could scarcely obtain a pair of mittens. In the mere hope of getting warm and dry, many deserted into the country — to the delight of the Yankee farmers, who obtained their services for little or nothing. But their story is a tale by itself, and with the fighting men of the force we shall have here little more to do.

With the haughty officers the case was more complex. Almost

this does not seem to have been true of eastern Massachusetts, and long ere this date the question of firewood had become serious. Most of it was then being brought from Maine. The local emergency supplies had already been exhausted during the Siege of Boston. Wood for the Convention Troops therefore was one of the most difficult problems that the authorities had to face, and a deal of correspondence on the subject still survives.

[1] A valuable series of "Confidential Letters from New England, Nov. 15, 1777–Oct. 10, 1778" was published at Göttingen in 1779 by Prof. A. L. Schlözer in the fourth volume of his "Letter Exchange" (*Briefwechsel*). These confidential letters were by one of the German prisoners at Cambridge, whose name Schlözer somewhat ostentatiously concealed. Translations of these letters, and of other interesting Revolutionary material contained in the *Briefwechsel*, have been published by W. L. Stone in 1891 and by R. W. Pettingill in 1924; but neither is quite satisfactory, and neither, in spite of copious notes, gives any hint as to the writer. In the Library of Congress, however, there is an old German manuscript identical with these letters — either the original or a contemporary copy — which is signed by Heinrich Urban Cleve, a captain in the regiment of Rhetz, acting as brigade major to General Specht. In quoting from these letters therefore I have referred to them as by Cleve, citing the volume and page of Schlözer.

[2] Letter of Dec. 18, 1777. Schlözer, *Briefwechsel*, iv, 375. For a detailed history of these structures, see "Barracks on Cambridge Common," *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, xxviii, 598.

three hundred [1] of them filled the streets of Cambridge, "prancing and patrolling in every corner of the town, ornamented with their glittering side-arms," and "in a manner demanding our houses and colleges for their genteel accommodation." [2] Despite the resentment and indignation of the inhabitants, the newcomers had right on their side. A solemn promise had been made them by General Gates, in the seventh article of the "Convention" under which they had laid down their arms, that during their detention they should be "quartered according to rank." But the attempt to fulfil this promise presents a series of complications as curious and involved as perhaps any episode in local history — and very little to the credit of Cambridge.

To follow the ramifications of the plot we must examine almost every set of contemporary records: The Parliamentary Register, the Journal of the Massachusetts House, the minutes of the Council in executive session, their records as a concurrent legislative body, the Massachusetts Archives, the Cambridge town records, the books of the Harvard Overseers, Corporation, and Faculty, the papers of the military department of which Boston was the headquarters, and the letters of Burgoyne, Heath, and many other and subsidiary actors — documents which are scattered from the Massachusetts Historical Society to the London Record Office.

And it is a rather remarkable circumstance that these records are so complete and so well preserved. The various parties involved were all more or less known to each other, and all within a radius of half a dozen miles. There was often need for haste; and one might expect that much of the business would have been arranged at hurried personal interviews, without documentary records. Today nine-tenths of it would have been transacted by telephone or at the luncheon table, leaving no trace behind. But a spirit of meticulous accuracy seems to have pervaded the affair. Not a conference was held, not a suggestion made, without being committed to writing. Documents were drafted, fair-copied, duplicated, engrossed, and even printed; and each of these forms was carefully docketed, filed, and preserved, so that every detail can still be followed *in extenso*.

Nor was speed sacrificed to accuracy. Letters were exchanged (by special messengers) with almost the rapidity of modern telegrams;

[1] See the signatures of 192 British and 101 Hessian officers attached to the original parole, now in the Boston Public Library. Printed in condensed form in O'Callaghan, *Burgoyne's Orderly Book*, Appendix. There were a few more who never signed.

[2] Mrs. Winthrop to Mrs. Warren, *ubi supra*.

and a note, a reply, and the ensuing official action frequently occurred within twenty-four hours. In as short a space of time committees were appointed, met, made their investigations, and reported their recommendations. Thus the whole story forms an unusually interesting example of our ancestors' methods of procedure in an emergency.

Piecing together this complicated mosaic, we obtain a narrative substantially as follows:

MAKING READY — CROSS QUESTIONS AND CROOKED ANSWERS

It was on October 22, 1777, that the General Court of Massachusetts, then in session, was officially informed that on the 7th Burgoyne had surrendered to Gates at Saratoga, under articles known as a "convention," by virtue of which the prisoners were to embark at Boston and sail for home, being quartered at Cambridge until their transports should arrive. The news was received with delirious joy in town and country. Cambridge took its full part in the celebrations. That night "the colleges were beautifully illuminated"; and the next, "the town of Cambridge was universally illuminated in high taste and elegance. A bonfire was made upon the common, where were fired a number of cannon,[1] answered by musketry from the troops stationed in Cambridge, in honor of General Gates. A number of principal gentlemen, both of the town and army, spent an agreeable evening in company, when [a long list of] toasts were drank, with the discharge of cannon. The rejoicings were introduced by the discharge of thirteen cannon in honor of the thirteen United States of America." [2]

On the 23d the legislature (Council and House of Representatives) appointed Messrs. Phillips, Gray, Hosmer, Cushing, and Austin a joint committee "to consider what Provision &c. is necessary to be made for the Reception of the Prisoners taken at the Northward . . . *and for fulfilling Gen. Gates Engagement concerning them.*" [3] Two days later, on the report of these gentlemen, both chambers resolved that another joint committee — Messrs. Taylor, Cushing, Gray,

[1] Probably including those which still stand there, having been left behind after the Siege of Boston.

[2] *Boston Gazette*, Oct. 23, 1777. For some time after the Evacuation, Cambridge, with its numerous barracks, etc., continued to be used as a recruiting station for new levies. See Drake, *Old Landmarks of Boston*, 383.

[3] *House Journal* (printed) — "Court Records" (Council minutes), xxxviii, 145. It is significant that the latter clause was added by the Council.

Hutchinson, and Crane — should fix the limits within which the officers were to be confined, and obtain therein suitable houses for the general officers and proper rooms for the other officers of rank, "*so far as may be consistent with a strict fulfilment of the Convention.*" [1] (These clauses are italicized to show the honorable intentions of the civil authorities.) For these purposes they were to advise with General William Heath, the commander of the local military department, who was of course to be in immediate charge of the prisoners, their guards, their rations, firewood, etc.

The House thereupon adjourned, leaving all details to the Council in executive session (there being no governor during this period). The latter body shortly discovered an important matter had been overlooked — the taking of the officers' paroles, a formality which had been stipulated by Article XI of the Convention. On November 1 therefore the Council voted that "whereas Major General Heath has at the desire of this Board undertaken to supply the army lately under the Command of General Burgoine . . . with their rations & with quarters," the taking of the parole should also be entrusted to him.[2]

On the 4th Heath replied with some irritation that he did not wish to get mixed up in an affair which, as it then stood, was bound to make trouble. "I find by conversing with the Committee lately appointed . . . that the parole which I am to take must be within such Limits as they perfix: And as it appears to me that a restriction to the Limits proposed will tend rather to disgust than gratify the Officers, I must desire to be excused from taking the Parole." In a supplementary letter he did however "take the liberty to present to your Honors what has appeared to me as proper Limits . . . altho' this Business seems by the Resolves of the Two Houses and the Opinion of the Committee to be out of my Jurisdiction." [3] The Council nevertheless insisted that as everyone else was too busy to take the paroles, and as "this Business naturally falls within his Department," it should "be therefore refered to him." [4]

The limits proposed by Heath were as follows:

Charles Town Neck at Swan's Shop, from thence the Cambridge road to the crossway which communicates with the said road between

[1] "Court Records," xxxviii, 153.

[2] Council Records, xxi, 848.— Copy in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 26.— Engrossment in Mass. Archives, 173/522.

[3] Mass. Archives, 198/268 and 274.— Drafts in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 22.

[4] Nov. 4, 1777. Council Records, xxi, 853.

Mr. Codman's house and fort No. 3, the said crossway out to the road by Mr. Inman's house, said road up by Mr. Dana's house, and Captain Stedman's tavern round the corner down to Cambridge bridge, the bridge from the North end of Cambridge causeway by Mr. Welsh's shop, the Water Town road to the first turn beyond the late Lieutenant Governor Oliver's house, from Deacon Mills' house down the Charles Town road on to Cambridge Common, to the Menotomy road, said road up to Cooper's tavern, from Snow's tavern, the road down by the stone magazine, Medford bridge, and Charles Town road by Winter Hill down to the first mentioned bounds (the intermediate roads are within the parole).

P. S. If General Burgoyne should not be Quartered in Inman House the Limits may be restrained to the Road from Charlestown neck up to the Colleges from thence down to the Bridge.[1]

This on its face was an excellent arrangement, inasmuch as it included the considerable number of abandoned houses in Cambridge formerly owned by the local loyalists. That group of capitalists and wealthy government officials — Sheriff Phipps, John Borland, Major John Vassall, Judge Sewall, Widow Penelope Vassall, Judge Joseph Lee, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, etc. — had been forced to flee the town when the Revolution began, leaving their elegant mansions to be confiscated by the patriots. On the road from Cambridge village towards Watertown, especially, these fine estates were so numerous that the street was known as "Tory Row." The small tenants who were now in precarious possession could be easily disposed of, and the many handsome and spacious apartments would make unexceptionable quarters for large groups of officers — just as they had sheltered many of the American militia two years before, during the Siege of Boston. These limits the Council were accordingly inclined to approve.

But while this game of cross purposes was in progress the town of Cambridge had added its voice, and that in no friendly tone, to the general discord. The fears expressed by Mrs. Winthrop were an accurate epitome of the sentiment of the community; and before the prisoners reached Cambridge the inhabitants had hurriedly taken concerted action to protect themselves. On the 3d of November a special town meeting, held at the court house in Harvard Square, had passed the following vote:

[1] *Parliamentary Register*, xii, Appendix, p. iii. These limits occur in a draft of a parole which Heath submitted to the Council, and which he dated Nov. 9, apparently thinking that matters would surely be adjusted by that time. "Deacon Mill" was a copyist's error for Deacon [Aaron] Hill.

That Abraham Watson Esqr, the Hon^{bl} John Winthrop Esqr Thaddeus Mason Esqr Col^{o} Bridge & Mr Samuel Whittemore Junr or the Major part of them Be a Committee to apply to the Committee of the General Court appointed to assign limits to the officers of the British Army lately made Prisoners by Major General Gates, who are to be on their parole, and to request of them that such limits may be no larger than what the Officers aforesaid are entitled to by the Articles of Convention lately agreed on by General Gates & Lt. General Burgoyne, & particularly, that those Officers may not be permitted to have the range of the Town of Cambridge which the town are of the oppinion they are not entitled to. And if they fail of success in their application to the Committee of the General Court, then they are to present a Petition to the Honble Council of this State, for the purpose aforesaid. They are also to apply to Major General Heath if they find it necessary.[1]

Amid such clashes and contradictions it may be imagined that the conferences between Heath and the joint committee were not exactly harmonious: they culminated in the following remarkable effusion:

Boston November 6th, 1777

Sir

The Committee of both Houses of Assembly appointed to Procure Houses for General Burgoyne and his General Officers, & Suitable Rooms for his other Officers of Rank, and to establish the Limits for the Officers and Privates in General Burgoyne's Army and Limits to prevent the Inhabitants from Coming to the Prisoners, have attended that Service, and agreeable to your Desire we agreed with Mr. Robert Temple for his House for General Burgoyne after which you advised us to omit that and to procure Mr. Inmans House we then told you we understood, Doctor Warren had taken Mr. Inmans House for a Hospital on which you Assured us that should not hinder our taking it for the General; and Advised us to Procure it, accordingly the Next morning we went and agreed with a Tenant living in said House, that General Burgoyne should come there, then discharged Mr. Temples House and since which we are informed that by your Order Doctor Warren has taken said House for a Hospital and the Tenant now refuses to let the General have it, & Assigns the above as a reason for his refusal — Now Sir the Committee are determined to take no further Steps relative to procuring a House for General Burgoyne, we are of Opinion it is Entirely oweing to you that the Committee have had so much Trouble, and all proves abortive, and we expect you will yet put General Burgoyne into Inmans House, You informed the Committee that three or four Houses would be Sufficient for the other General Officers, and that you had Officers Barracks Sufficient for the Field and other Officers since which the Committee have obtained the following Houses in Charlestown for the General Officers Mr Phille-

[1] Cambridge Town Records. It is to be observed, in connection with a later stage of proceedings, that Mason was a graduate, and Winthrop a professor, of Harvard College.

brown's, The Widow Rands, The Widow Prentices except the West chamber, in Mr Hunnewells House two Front Rooms and one Chamber, and one half of Mr Adams's house [1] which is full equal to what you said would be enough and they are not only the best we could obtain near where the Troops are to be Quartered which the Articles of Convention require, & they are such as the Committee judge quite sufficient — And agreeable to the Order of the two Houses we have also agreed that the outside Bound for the Non Commissioned Officers and Privates shall be the line of Centry boxes, if placed where you informed the Committee they should be, And that the Inhabitants shall not pass any nearer to the Camp than the Line of Stakes Placed or immediately to be placed about Thirty yards distance from the Centry boxes, and also we have Determined, That the Generals and other Officers shall not Exceed the Following Bounds on any pretence whatever Vizt — Beginning at Charlestown neck at Mr Swans Shop & from thence the Road Leading toward Cambridge till it comes to a Middle Road beyond Mr Pipers Tavern, thence up said Road till it intercects the road leading from Medford to Cambridge thence the right hand road by the Powder House and so on till it meets the road leading from Medford to Charlestown; thence that road to the first mentioned Place, and all within them Limits also the lane to Inmans House near Mr Codmans and the whole of Inmans Farm & no more — We are Sir with due respect your's

JOHN TAYLOR
THOS CRANE
ISRAEL HUTCHINSON
} The Committee of the Two Houses of Assembly [2]

It will be seen that the committee had lent an attentive ear to the deputation from Cambridge, and had altered Heath's proposed limits by leaving out that town altogether except Inman's farm (now the region around Central Square), virtually confining the officers to the present Somerville. Such an arrangement appeared logical enough, since it followed strictly the provision of the Convention that "the officers are not, so far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men," and Somerville included the barracks already described. It also included "Ten Hills Farm," the magnificent seat of Robert Temple, Esq., to which the committee referred. That gentleman was a moderate loyalist, who after a somewhat inglorious

[1] From subsequent claims for compensation it appears that the following houses in Charlestown were actually occupied: Thomas Fillebrown's, Rebecca Rand's, Rebecca Prentice's, William Hunnewell's (where General Hamilton was quartered), Peter Tufts's, Mary Frost's, and Thomas Brooks's. These were in the part of Charlestown now Somerville, along "Charlestown Lane" near the British barracks on Prospect Hill. In several cases the houses were vacated altogether, the "families and effects removed." See *Mass. Province Laws*, xxi, 295; also 478 for damages done by the troops.

[2] Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 24.— Copy in Mass. Archives, 167/431.

retreat in 1775 had been allowed to return and reoccupy his mansion, and who would make a capital host to Burgoyne.

Yet the committee, in spite of all their bombast, must have been aware that their scheme of limits was entirely too small. Half a dozen ordinary farmhouses for the number of officers expected would never do, to say nothing of proper quarters for several more generals, British and Hessian. The Cambridge deputation could thus flatter themselves that they had already put a spoke in the Englishman's wheel, and ensured him plenty of vexation and delay. For these shifts and squabbles had consumed so much time that matters were approaching a crisis. The long column of prisoners could almost be descried on the outskirts of Cambridge; and from Burgoyne, who was travelling a day or two behind the main body, had arrived an express rider with a formal demand for quarters to be in readiness.

The Massachusetts Council fully realized the gravity of the situation. With the policy of the Cambridge men and the joint committee they did not concur in the least. Taking official notice that "a disagreement" had arisen between Heath and the committee, in consequence of which "suitable houses have not as yet been provided . . . *which it is necessary should be immediately done to prevent the Conventions being broke,*" they promptly "*Ordered* that General Heath be & hereby is advised to take the Parole of the said Officers agreeable to the form he has exhibited & the Limits he has therein required & that he procure suitable houses for the accommodation of General Burgoine & the Officers aforesaid within said Limits."[1]

Thus endorsed, Heath at once took energetic measures. Throwing aside the committee's narrow scheme, and returning to his own plan, he issued orders to Col. Chase, his quartermaster, as follows:

Headquarters, Boston, Nov. 7, 1777.

You will Immediately obtain proper Houses upon the best Terms you Can, for the Accommodation of Lieut. General Burgoyne, Major Genl Phillips, Major Genl Riedesel, Brig^r Genl Hamilton, and two German Brig^r Generals [Specht and de Gall], having proper regard to their Rank, after which you will If Possible accomodate the Field Officers with proper rooms if attainable, you will procure the Houses between Charlestown Neck and Lieut. Governor Oliver's House on the Water Town Road in the Body of the Town of Cambridge on the Menotomy Road any where on this Side Cooper's Tavern, on the Road from Cambridge to Medford

[1] Nov. 7, 1777. Council Records, xxi, 861.— Copies in Mass. Archives, 167/430 and Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 26.

any where on this side the Stone Magazine, or on any of the Intermediate Roads within the before mentioned outlines. You will wait on Gen[l] Burgoyne, and acquaint him with this my order, and full Determination, to do all in my Power to make his Situation as Easy and agreeable as Circumstances will admit — *and in every Instance Strictly adhere to the Convention.*[1]

WELCOMING A LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

The last sentence hints at the miserable situation presented by this time in Cambridge. The travel-stained officers were pouring into town with their men, only to find everything in confusion and no arrangements completed for sheltering them. Not a single householder had either honor or humanity enough to offer them even a temporary asylum. The highest ranks received no more consideration than the youngest subalterns. "The generals, Burgoyne, von Riedesel, and Phillips, wandered about some time without a roof over their heads, until they found lodgings at a high price in a Cambridge inn — a gloomy hole." [2] This was Bradish's (afterwards Porter's), the famous "Blue Anchor," just off Harvard Square. Their baggage was unceremoniously dumped in the middle of Cambridge Common.[3] Their plight was pictured by Burgoyne with a bitterness which few can blame: "After being pressed into Cambridge through bad weather, inconvenience and fatigue, without any preparation made to receive the superior officers, I was lodged in a miserable public-house; and, in ill health,[4] obliged to partake with Major-General Phillips two very small dirty rooms for ourselves, our aid-de-camps, and the staff of the army then present." [5] Phillips made an equally pungent comment of his own:

[1] Draft in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 27.

[2] Eelking, *Deutschen Hülfstruppen*, i, 334.

[3] Burgoyne to Heath, Nov. 12, 1777. *Parliamentary Register*, xii, Appendix, p. vii.

[4] "My mind is broken down by agitation and my body with fatigue." Burgoyne to Howe. Oct. 20, 1777. Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on American MSS.*, i, 141. General Glover, who was in charge of the escort, reported to Gates on Nov. 16: "After a troublesome journey of 13 days (some part of which time was very stormy — this with the badness of the roads was almost too much for Gen[l] Burgoyne's shatter'd constitution) we arrived safe in Cambridge." N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates MSS.

[5] Burgoyne to President of Congress. Cambridge, Feb. 11, 1778. *Parliamentary Register*, xi, 211. He used very nearly the same language to Gates: "I and General Phillips, after being amused with promises of Quarters for eight days together, are still in a dirty small miserable Tavern, lodging in a Bed Room together, and all the Gentlemen of our suite lodging upon the Floor in a Chamber adjacent, a good deal worse than their servants have been used to." Public House at Cambridge, Nov. 14, 1777. Copy in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 37.

Sir,

I was last Sunday informed that a quarter was provided for me and that I could occupy it on Wednesday morning — the House formerly belonged to a Mr. Phips and is now held of the Committee by Mr. Mason. This morning I receive a message that Mr. Mason and Family cannot go out and consequently I have no quarter. . . . I require a quarter suitable to my rank of Major General, and that I will not interfere about it myself, but depend on you, Sir, for fulfilling the 7th Article of the Convention.

I have the honor, etc.

W. Phillips

Major-General Heath [1]

Now William Heath was a Roxbury farmer, but he was also an officer and a gentleman to the tips of his work-hardened fingers. His instincts of military courtesy towards a vanquished but equally high-spirited foeman (who was but asking for simple justice) were deeply revolted; and in much chagrin he wrote to Burgoyne:

I am exceedingly unhappy that your Excellency and General Phillips have not as yet such quarters as I sincerely wish or you desire; no endeavours of mine shall be wanting to effect it, and I can assure you it is the desire of the Council also.

I must desire your Excellency to move into one of the best houses that have been taken up, viz: Mrs. Vassall's or Mr. Inman's. It will be much more comfortable to yourself and agreeable to others, than being in a public house, and such removal shall not in the least abate our endeavours to procure you better quarters.[2]

Simultaneously he addressed a remonstrance to the Council, setting forth "the unhappy and disgraceful situation of General Burgoyne and his officers." [3] That body, plainly realizing the gravity of the situation, instantly advised him to extend the parole limits so as to take in Temple's house, and procure the same for Burgoyne and his general officers, "allowing Mr. Temple to remain in the house with him." [4]

The implied reproof did not pass unnoticed by the original joint committee. They at once sought an interview with the Council in order to justify themselves. The conference seems to have been as stormy as those they had held with Heath. Finally they were asked to state in writing what further steps they proposed to take to relieve

[1] *Magazine of American History*, xiv, 91.

[2] Nov. 11, 1777. *Parliamentary Register*, xii, App., p. vi.

[3] Nov. 11, 1777. Mass. Archives, 198/289. See *post*, p. 38.

[4] Nov. 11, 1777. Council Records, xxi, 867.— Copies in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 34 and Mass. Archives, 173/559.

the situation. This was a poser for the politicians who had promised to protect their friends in Cambridge, and they could think of nothing better than to throw up their job, in a queer mixture of pomposity and pettiness.

May it please your Honors

The Committee of the Gen[l] Court appointed to procure Houses for Gen[l] Burgoyne & his Officers & to appoint Commissaries to supply them with such Articles as are usually brought to the Boston Market the produce of these States; also to affix Limits both for Officers & Privates of s[d] Army & Limits to prevent the Inhabitants from mixing & trading with the Prisoners &c — also being advised by your Hon[rs] to supply Gen[l] Burgoyne & his Officers with Wines, Rum, Brandy Sugar & other Articles the produce of the W. Indies, having most faithfully & constantly attended that Service & after frequent Consultations with Gen[l] Heath appointed good & faithful Commissaries who are now on the Spot & have been for some Time & are supplying both Officers & Privates agreeably to the Resolves of Court & Advice of y[r] Honors — the Committee also have affixed Limits for the Officers & Privates & for the Inhabitants — & have procured the best Houses possible within those Limits for the Officers agreeable to the Requisition of Gen[l] Heath — & agreeable to y[r] Honors Desire, last Week reported to Gen[l] Heath a Copy of which Report has been presented to your Honors; neither has he signified to the Committee any Deficiency in the Preparations made as set forth in s[d] Report But inasmuch as y[r] Honors have been pleased this Day to inform us that Gen[l] Heath has represented to your Honors that there is a deficiency of Houses for the Officers of Gen[l] Burgoyne's Army; also that y[r] Hon[rs] had advised Gen[l] Heath to extend the Limits of the Officers beyond the Limits prefix'd by the Committee & also had advised Gen[l] Heath to procure Houses any where in those extended Limits for them & desired us the Committee to inform y[r] Honors in writing what the Committee would do further — therefore in Compliance with y[r] Honors Request permit us to inform your Honors that inasmuch as Gen[l] Heath has rec[d] your Advice to extend the Limits & it seems he is determined to do it & as he has also been advised by y[r] Honors to procure Houses any where within those Limits we trust & believe he will also do that if in his Power & if not in his Power we trust your Honors will give him all the Assistance he can reasonably Desire.

We are very respectfully
Y[r] Honors mo. obed. serv[ts]

JOHN TAYLOR
ELLIS GRAY
THO[s] CRANE
ISRAEL HUTCHINSON
} Committee of the Gen[l] Court

Boston Nov. 12, 1777.[1]

[1] "Report of Com[ee] to prepare Quarters for Gen[l] Burgoyne's Army in Consequence of a Conference wth Council." Mass. Archives, 168/11.

Meanwhile, to Heath's anxious offers Burgoyne rather tartly replied:

The houses you mentioned yesterday are so exceedingly inconvenient, the one in point of size, and the other in being deficient in every article of furniture,[1] that to occupy either would make my condition worse than it is. The house of Mr. Temple would certainly suit me exceedingly well, and *should the great essential matters of public faith again take such a turn* as might justify me in accepting a favor, I should certainly hold myself obliged to you for your good offices to procure me that particular quarter.[2]

It is no wonder that the Englishman felt bewildered and aggrieved. For a week, after the signing of the Convention of Saratoga, he had been honorably entertained, with every attention befitting his rank, at the luxurious town house of General Schuyler at Albany, where "a table of twenty covers" had been spread for himself and his party. On the road to Cambridge, also, he had been treated with the greatest consideration. At Hadley, tired out and half sick, he had spent several days at the house of Sheriff Elisha Porter, who had shown him such kindness that upon leaving he had presented his host with his dress sword "in token of high esteem and gratitude." [3] His present position therefore was a contrast as violent as it was unexpected. "Our treatment is new to us," he wrote to Heath, "though we are not Strangers to what it is to be in the hands of an Enemy." [4]

The efforts to make him the personal guest of Temple, therefore, were evidently made in imitation of the example so handsomely set by Schuyler. But the much-discussed mansion at Ten Hills Farm was not to receive the British commander after all. (It ultimately became the quarters for the main guard of the militia who kept watch over the prisoners at the barracks near by.) No recorded reason can be found for giving up the plan, but of course if he had become the recipient of Temple's private hospitality, he would not have paid the handsome amounts for rent and subsistence which the citizens of Cambridge evidently hoped to extort from him. Strong pressure was probably brought to bear on the authorities not to forego so

[1] A temporary tenant of the Inman house after the Siege of Boston found nothing in it but a single bed, some broken chairs, and an iron skillet. *Letters of James Murray, Loyalist*, 245.

[2] Nov. 12, 1777. *Parliamentary Register*, xii, Appendix, p. vii.

[3] This sword is still preserved as a priceless heirloom by the Porter family. It is at present in the possession of Francis R. Cooley, Esq., of Hartford, Conn. See Conn. Soc. Sons of the American Revolution, *Year Book, 1893–94*, p. 222.

[4] Nov. 10, 1777. *Parliamentary Register*, xii, Appendix, p. v. — Mass. Archives, 198/287.

considerable an amount of the coveted "hard money" that was known to be piled in the British pay chest. That this was the case is pretty clearly shown by the ultimate solution of the problem. On November 14, Burgoyne wrote to General Gates, enclosing a return of the troops as of the date of the surrender (apparently in fulfilment of a promise), and reporting that the march to Cambridge had been made in safety and good order. But, he added,

> I cannot speak with satisfaction upon what has passed and still passes here. The officers are crowded into the Barracks six and seven in a Room of about ten feet square and without Distinction of Rank. The General Officers are not better provided for. . . .
>
> The only prospect that remains to me personally is that I shall be permitted to occupy a House without a Table, Chair or any one Article of Furniture for the Price of an hundred and Fifty pounds sterling till the first of April,[1] but the same sum is to be paid though I should embark in ten Days.
>
> While I state to you, Sir, this very unexpected Treatment I entirely acquit M. Gen. Heath and every Gentleman of the military Department of any Inattention to *the publick Faith engaged in the Convention.* They do what they can, but *while the supreme Powers of the State are unable or unwilling to enforce their Authority, and the Inhabitants want the Hospitality or indeed the common Civilization to assist us without it, the public Faith is broke, and we are the immediate sufferers.*[2]

Touching this letter and its momentous sentence (here italicized) there will be more to say anon.[3]

The house described by the indignant Briton still stands just across the road from Harvard College. It had been built some fifteen years before by the Rev. East Apthorp, first rector of the Episcopal church in Cambridge, in such handsome style that it was sarcastically dubbed "The Bishop's Palace." It had subsequently been bought by John Borland, a wealthy loyalist who had absconded at the beginning of the war. During the Siege of Boston it had been occupied by the American forces, and badly knocked about. It was at this period leased by a Captain Henley. That astute warrior had driven perhaps as hard a bargain as Cambridge landlords have ever made — which is saying a good deal in a town where the systematic fleecing of students has rendered the inhabitants past masters of extortion.

[1] This was the extent of Henley's lease. Of course £150 stg. represented an enormously greater sum in the depreciated American paper of this date.

[2] Public House at Cambridge, Nov. 14, 1777. Copy in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 37.

[3] See *post*, p. 69 *et seq.*

Heath was utterly scandalized. "The sum which he gave for it," he declared, "was most exorbitant, as was the case in some other instances." "Why," he demanded, "line the pockets of some Individual who perhaps will ask three times so much for a house for a month or two, as he gives for the House and farm for a year?" [1]

Burgoyne himself waxed ironic over the appellation of his dilapidated domicile. "Having been amused, from day to day, for near a fortnight, with the expectation of proper accommodations, I was only at last relieved by consenting to pay, upon a private bargain, a larger sum for an unfurnished house out of repair, than would have been required for a palace in the dearest metropolis of the world." [2] Before he could move in he was obliged to apply for the loan of such elementary furniture as "18 Chairs, 3 Small Tables & Green Cloath, 4 Setts Andirons, a few Trammels and Hooks." [3] It was about November 20 when he seems to have taken possession.[4]

Meantime Friedrich Adolph, Freiherr von Riedesel, the commander of the German contingent, was getting equally scurvy treatment. This was the more outrageous in his case because, besides his personal staff of seven persons, he was accompanied by his wife and three little girls, with a maidservant. After a few days at Bradish's, common decency compelled the removal of his party to a separate house, and they were transferred to the cottage close by, formerly owned by Judah Monis, the one-time teacher of Hebrew at Harvard. Here, subject to the impositions of a termagant landlady, they remained for some three weeks, sleeping on straw in one room and a garret, with their servants pigging in the passageways as best they might.[5] During this interval they lost all their personal baggage, probably stolen by the very militiamen set to guard it.[6]

In the end of November the Riedesels were assigned to the Sewall-Lechmere place, a mile away up "Tory Row" (Brattle Street).

[1] Heath to Council. Headquarters, Boston, Apr. 6, 1778. Mass. Archives, 199/97. The nature of the transaction may be judged from the remark that the "whole interest" of the tenant in a similar estate was "but £4 per annum." See p. 44 *post*.

[2] Burgoyne to President of Congress. Cambridge, Feb. 11, 1778. *Parliamentary Register*, xi, 212. — Original in Public Record Office, London: Colonial Office, Class 5, vol. 95, p. 385.

[3] Nov. 17, 1777. Mass. Archives, 173/577.

[4] After Burgoyne's departure the "Palace" was occupied by Phillips, the second in command. Mass. Archives, 199/97 and 100; 217/436 (Apr. 6, 1778).

[5] Stone, *Memoir of Riedesel*, i, 217.

[6] Rosengarten, *German Allied Troops*, 143. The Hessians seem to have been unmercifully swindled on every hand at first. There was a good deal of wholesome awe felt for the British, but the outlandish "foreigners" excited nothing but contempt.

This was even more desolate than the "Palace." To make it habitable at all they were forced to hire from the American Commissary "two and a half dozen chairs, one large breakfast table, four tables, one night chair, two bedsteads with beds, two looking glasses, one tea board, two bureaus, and one large water kettle." [1] Yet in comparison with their former lodgings they were charmed with their quarters; and under the good German housekeeping of the Baroness the mansion became the centre of the social life of the foreign contingent.

How to Receive British Officers

Thus far we have considered only the pitiful pettifogging by which the sensitive and high bred commanders were cozened out of their rights under the Convention. The experiences of the junior officers were even worse. Arriving, after a most trying journey, at the destination where they had been promised suitable shelter, they found nothing open to them but the street. This was the more dumbfounding because all along the road from Saratoga they had received every mark of compassionate kindness, and a rude but hearty courtesy. Indeed their hospitable and generous usage had been so surprising that they almost suspected it must proceed from some deep ulterior motive.[2] At their journey's end, however, in some equally mysterious manner, the conditions were suddenly reversed. Had they been so many lepers they could not have been more thoroughly outcast.

To get a roof over their heads they were obliged to squeeze into the little cubicles built into the corners of the crazy barracks where their men were confined. November was a bitter month that year, and the searching northwesters on the hilltops drove through the loose boarding as if it were so much mosquito netting. Ensign Anburey of the 21st Regiment has left a vivid account of their sufferings:

We reached the barracks on Prospect Hill very late in the evening, which were unfortunately in the worst condition imaginable for the reception of troops, being so much out of repair that we suffered severely from the inclemency of the weather; the barracks were in fact bare of everything; no wood, and a prodigious scarcity of fuel, insomuch that we were obliged

[1] "Court Records," xxxviii, 164.

[2] "The treatment of the officers and troops in general is of so extraordinary a nature in point of generosity that I must suppose it proceeds from some other motive than mere kindness of disposition." Burgoyne to Howe. Albany, Oct. 20, 1777. Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on American MSS.*, i, 141.

to cut down the rafters of our room to dry ourselves. The method of quartering was dreadfully inconvenient, six officers in a room not twelve feet square.[1]

Sergeant Lamb, of the Royal Welsh Fusileers, speaks from the point of view of the rank and file:

It was not infrequent for thirty or forty persons, men, women, and children, to be indiscriminately crowded together in one small, miserable, open hut. The officers, without any regard to rank, were frequently crowded six or eight together in one small hut. In the night time, those that could lie down, and the many who sat up from the cold, were obliged frequently to rise and shake from them the snow which the wind drifted in at the openings.[2]

An additionally cheerful circumstance (which seems to have been successfully concealed from the new arrivals) was that these barracks had just been used as an "inoculating hospital" for the smallpox.[3]

Even their jailers were mortified at their condition. Col. Lee, in charge of the guards, reported them

exceeding uneasy with respect to their Quarters, as the cold weather approaches fast, & but very little wood renders their situation very disagreeable. . . . This morning rode round the lines and found the Field Officers & some Others walking by their Barracks to keep themselves from perishing with cold; not one stick of Wood to put into the Fire, & if some other method cannot be found to supply them they must either perish or burn all the Publick buildings.[4]

As a final insult, they seem to have been told that they were getting all they deserved, and need look for no improvement in their situation.

In spite of such a reception, so different from what they had been led to expect, the officers maintained the traditions of the service by exhibiting an admirable self-restraint and cheerfulness. Anburey, it will be noticed, makes no recriminations; and the committee of the Council reported "the Officers of the British Army much disposed to peace & good order," and ready to sign the parole "as soon as furnished with proper Quarters," or even promised them "within eight

[1] Letter of Nov. 30, 1777. *Travels through America*, ii, 59.

[2] *Journal of Occurrences in the American War*, 195.

[3] Resolve of Apr. 8, 1777. Mass. Archives, 213/170.

[4] Lee to Heath. Cambridge, Nov. 14, 1777. Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 38. In a supplementary report he complains of their pulling off barn doors and carrying away fence rails for fuel. Heath mentions on Jan. 27, 1778, that a bakery and dwelling house built by one Blodgett near Winter Hill during the Siege of Boston had been gradually stripped "until nothing remains." To Laurens. Heath Letters. MSS. Library of Congress.

or ten days."[1] But that promise was not forthcoming; and the unfortunate officers, packed into tumbledown sheds that a self-respecting dog would have sniffed at, seemed doomed to shiver on their hilltop until the freezing of the nethermost pit.

Now John Burgoyne, whatever his merits or demerits as a wit, a playwright, or a parliamentarian, had as a military man at least one trait that deserves remembrance. He was one of the most humane and considerate officers of his day, one of the first commanders to break away from the iron rigidity that Frederick the Great had imposed on the profession as the ideal of army discipline, and to adopt the modern view that the soldier is a thinking human being, with feelings as sensitive as (and in many instances far more sensitive than) those of the politician who sends him out to stop a bullet. If he was nicknamed "Gentleman Johnny" it was because he *was* a gentleman, and possessed to the full that characteristic which is said to lie at the very foundation of a gentleman's nature — regard for his inferiors. As a result he was adored by his men. In the words of one of his Irish sergeants, "he possessed the confidence and affection of his army in so extraordinary a degree that no loss or misfortune could shake the one, or distress or affliction weaken the other."[2]

He was equally adored by his officers, not only because he demanded (and obtained) the very best professional service that in them lay, but because he made them his personal friends, watched over their comfort with fatherly care, and protected their interests with jealous promptitude. Although thoroughly alive to his own prerogatives, he was no less determined to secure the rights of those for whom he was responsible. He felt the full force of those weighty words *noblesse oblige;* and like the captain who is the last to leave the sinking ship, he did not propose to take advantage of his rank to abandon his subordinates to their fate — or, as he expressed it, "to separate my lot from that of the army."[3]

Thus at the court of enquiry held on the American Colonel Henley for maltreating some of his prisoners, Burgoyne would not entrust the prosecution to any of his staff, but appeared in person to press the charges and champion his men.[4] Thus while his whole army was

[1] Nov. 13, 1777. Council Records, xxi, 871.— Mass. Archives, 168/12.

[2] Roger Lamb, *Journal of Occurrences in the American War*, 184.

[3] Burgoyne to Heath, Nov. 12, 1777. *Parliamentary Register*, xii, Appendix, p. vii.

[4] During these long-drawn proceedings Cleve notes: "General Burgoyne has more than once proved himself a great pleader — has even caused the entire court to shed tears." Letter of Jan. 13, 1778. Schlözer, *Briefwechsel*, iv, 383.

shivering around empty fireplaces, he announced in general orders that in the matter of fuel "every favor and preference has been refused by the Officers in general till Justice could be done to the Private Men."[1] Thus when Gates, immediately after the signing of the Convention, obsequiously offered him a private passage to England at once on a government vessel, the offer was declined as "unacceptable"; and the American general, who had no more conception of such a code of ethics than of Vedic philosophy, could never for the life of him understand the reason why.[2] His own code being merely to look out for number one, he would have regarded it as the height of foolishness had he known that Burgoyne was writing to Sir William Howe, the commander in chief, "I set out immediately for Boston, where I shall spare no pains for the arrangement and convenience of the troops till your orders arrive."[3]

So when Heath offered the Englishman, stived up in the public house at Cambridge, the first choice of the best quarters, he replied:

Sir,

I have the Honor of your letter of the date of this day; and have only to return in Answer, that *till the infringements of the Convention are redressed* in regard to the quartering of Officers particularly, I cannot consistently with my duty or principles accept personally of any other accommodations than such as I have the misfortune to be Subjected to at present; should it please the will of your Government to make them worse, I persuade myself, I shall continue to persevere as becomes me.[4]

And so the first protest which he made was in behalf not of himself but of his subordinate officers. After a personal inspection of their situation, he wrote, overflowing with indignation, to Heath as follows:

Public House at Cambridge, Nov. 10th, 1777.

Sir,

I am under the Necessity, and I am persuaded you will partake my concern, of returning to you the proposed parole unsigned, the British regiments having unanimously insisted that the Convention is infringed in several circumstances but particularly in the Article expressing that every Officer shall be quartered according to his rank. . . . Since I have had occasion to visit the barracks myself, I am in honour & duty, and the fullest conviction, compelled to join my voice with the other Officers, and assert that the Quarters allotted to them would not be held fit for Gentle-

[1] Nov. 16, 1777. *Hadden's Orderly Book*, 329.

[2] Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on American MSS.*, i, 142.

[3] Albany, Oct. 25, 1777. Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on American MSS.*, i, 144.

[4] Nov. 11, 1777. Mass. Archives, 198/290.— *Parliamentary Register*, xii, Appendix, p. vii.

men in their situation in any part of the World. I have seen many jails preferable; and in the worst of them a man willing to purchase space may generally be indulged so far as not to Cook, eat, and lie at the rate of six persons or more in a room about ten feet square. . . . There are many other complaints; & circumstances in the regulations which the Officers in general think want farther explanation, that I will not trouble you with, Sir, because it is my hope and belief, if reasonable men take them into consideration, they will be easily settled. But that the Article regarding Quarters shall be properly fulfilled, before any Parole is signed, is a Resolution that no Individual will depart from. In regard to General Phillips and myself I shall say little. Our treatment is new to us, though we are not Strangers to what it is to be in the hands of an Enemy.

We are fully convinced, Sir, we should have no cause of complaint were the Power of redress in you; but if the Bodies in which the great Authorities of your State are vested have not means or inclinations to enforce, nor the people hospitality nor Civilization voluntarily to grant, compliances *in matters of public faith,* we have only to Protest, and to claim a removal to some other district, not imagining it possible that the same ideas should subsist in two parts of America.

I have the honour to be, with great personal regard, and a due sense of your attentions

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant

M. Gen[l]. Heath. J. BURGOYNE [1]

The quartering of the lower ranks thus became the crux of the whole situation. Upon it depended the signing of the parole, the pacification of Burgoyne, the good name of the town and the state, and, to no small degree, even the international reputation of the new republic: for the composite force of "Convention Troops" was soon to cross the water, and would spread far and wide, through both England and the Continent, the story how the American government stood by its obligations. Upon it Heath and his assistants expended their most anxious efforts. We have seen his prompt and comprehensive orders to his quartermaster on November 7th. But those orders were singularly barren of results. Chase reported the next day that he had visited house after house within the assigned limits, only to be refused. With a sinister and baffling unanimity the inhabitants of Cambridge declined to recognize his authority or to relieve the tension of an *impasse* that was rapidly becoming dangerous as well as humiliating. Heath found in short that in a very literal sense he had reckoned without his host.

[1] Mass. Archives, 198/287.— *Parliamentary Register*, xii, Appendix, p. iv.

In this crisis he bethought himself of the buildings of Harvard College. These had all been used as barracks for the provincial forces two years before, and to concentrate all the officers in one or two of them now would solve the problem admirably, especially since it would prevent their "boarding promiscuously in families . . . which it is the wish of the legislature as much as possible to avoid." [1] He therefore addressed the Harvard Corporation as follows:

Head Quarters, Boston, Nov. 8, 1777

Revd Sirs,

Finding it extremely difficult if not impossible to obtain proper Quarters for the Field & Commissioned Officers of our Guards, and those of General Burgoyne's late Army without greatly distressing the Inhabitants, I am constrained to request the use of one or more of the Colleges, if you should think proper, which I submit to your Wisdom.

I am
Revd Sirs
Very respectfully
Your obed. H'ble Servt
W Heath M G [2]

Rev^d. Corporation of
Harvard College

But to the exasperation and dismay of the American general, Harvard College adopted the same obstructionist tactics as the rest of Cambridge. For several days the dons maintained a pained and dignified silence, affecting to consider Heath's request as a demand (in the words of a professor's wife) for "the first university in America being disbanded for their [the officers'] more genteel accommodation."[3] Nothing of course was farther from Heath's thoughts. At this period the principal college dormitories were Massachusetts Hall, Stoughton Hall, and Hollis Hall. For many years their accommodations had been insufficient, and a large proportion of the students lodged in the town: the number of these would simply be augmented if one of the halls were turned over to the officers. To a stranger indeed the entire personnel seemed already to be scattered about Cambridge. Anburey remarked, "Neither the professors or students

[1] Heath to Burgoyne. Nov. 11, 1777. *Parliamentary Register*, xii, Appendix, p. vi.

[2] Harvard College Papers, ii, 34.—Draft in Heath MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc., vii, 30. In this draft the words, "N.B. Hollis Hall" are added, but struck through with the pen.

[3] Mrs. Winthrop to Mrs. Warren. Nov. 11, 1777. Ellett, *Women of the Revolution*, i, 98.

reside in the University; the former live in their own houses, and the latter board in the town." [1]

Such considerations however the Corporation ignored. Taking advantage of the fact that the president (Langdon) was away on business in Maine, they simply referred Heath's letter to the Overseers, the ultimate academic authority,— after which subterfuge several of the Corporation also found it convenient to leave Cambridge for the time being.

After waiting three precious days for a reply, therefore, Heath felt he could waste no more time with the Corporation, and laid his case directly before the Massachusetts Council, from whose attitude he had much more to hope.

The unhappy and disgraceful situation of Gen[l] Burgoyne and his officers is the only reason that constrains me again to write you on the Subject of providing them with proper Quarters. . . . Ever since your Order of the 7th Instant my Quarter Master has exerted himself to the utmost of his power to procure suitable accommodations, but without effect.

The Officers now begin to appear disgusted as your Honors will observe by the inclosed. Without speedy redress the unfavorable impressions will have taken too deep root to be easily eradicated —

The honor of the State is in danger,— the public Faith responsible — circumstances will no longer admit of delay,— decisive measures must be immediately adopted and I cannot conceive of any so effectual as the appropriation of at least one of the Colleges,— to your Honor's Wisdom it must be submitted, as the means are not in my power, without offering violence to the Rights of the Constitution, which I wish ever to hold sacred.— [2]

The enclosure referred to is probably the following:

Substance of the remonstrances made to the general by the commanding officers of the troops of the convention, soon after their arrival at Cambridge.

. . . It was agreed, that the officers should be conveniently lodged, according to their different ranks. Instead of this article being fulfilled, we are put into barracks, made of single boards; five, six, and seven officers in one room, without any distinction of rank.

The soldiers barracks, in general, are so very bad, that the men are not sheltered from the cold, or rain, though they have offered themselves to repair their barracks, upon materials being delivered to them; they are twenty, and twenty-four in a room, three in a birth, are without candle, and scarce receive wood enough to cook their victuals, much less to warm their rooms. . . .

[1] *Travels through America*, ii, 67.

[2] Head Quarters, Boston, Nov. 11, 1777. Mass. Archives, 198/289.— Draft in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 34.

We feel much less concerned for our own private convenience, than for that of the troops under our command.

. . . We are well assured, that you will insist upon and obtain those advantages to which the convention intitles the troops; we imagine they ought, in justice, to be put upon the same footing as in the winter of 1775, when the British troops were in garrison in Boston.

Signed by the brigadier-generals, and officers commanding corps.[1]

At the same time Heath wrote to the impatient Burgoyne, concealing his real feelings under a mask of sternness evidently intended to "save his face":

I can by no means admit that the Convention is infringed in any instance. Necessity has compelled me to quarter a larger number of captains and subalterns in a room than usual, but this was by no means to remain. The procuring new quarters for the field officers would make room for others; and as I assured your Excellency no care or attention should be wanting in me to make the situation of the officers as easy and agreeable as circumstances would admit of; I have been endeavouring to effect it, and hope I shall succeed. . . . That the article regarding the officers quarters shall be properly fulfilled is my determination, and that as soon as possible, but that they shall not take the liberty of the limits of a parole before they have signed it, is a resolution that I will not depart from, and I expect that they govern themselves accordingly.[2]

Now in putting his dilemma before the Council, and begging for their assistance in obtaining a college dormitory, Heath had done a very shrewd bit of business. For he had also stirred up the Harvard Overseers, a body whose views were very different from the Corporation's. This double result came about from the fact that by the system then in force the Council were ex-officio members of the Overseers, and indeed made an overwhelming majority there.[3] The situation was precisely that of modern "interlocking directorates";

[1] *Parliamentary Register*, xi, 215. Cf. the "Humble Representation" addressed by Riedesel to Burgoyne on the same subject. Stone, *Memoirs of Riedesel*, i, 219.

[2] Nov. 11, 1777. *Parliamentary Register*, xii, Appendix, p. v.

[3] The members of the Council who are recorded as present at these meetings — mostly with praiseworthy regularity — were Jeremiah Powell (President), Benjamin Austin, Nathan Cushing (A.B. 1763), Thomas Cushing (A.B. 1744), Timothy Danielson (Hon. A.M. 1779), Richard Derby, Jabez Fisher, Abraham Fuller, Henry Gardner (A.B. 1750), Samuel Holten, Daniel Hopkins, Oliver Prescott (A.B. 1750), David Sewall (A.B. 1755), Josiah Stone, John Taylor, Artemas Ward (A.B. 1748), John Whitcomb, and Benjamin White (A.B. 1744). At the Overseers' meetings appeared Powell, Austin, N. Cushing, Danielson, Derby, Fisher, Fuller, Gardner, Holten, Hopkins, Prescott, Stone, Taylor, Ward, Whitcomb, and White, with Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot (A.B. 1737), the secretary of the board, Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper (A.B. 1743), Rev. Dr. Gordon, and Mr. John Lathrop (Hon. A.M. 1768).

so that by appealing to the Council the harassed general was really killing two birds with one stone.

The consequences were both gratifying and instantaneous. The Council, *qua* Council, refrained, it is true, from intermeddling at once with the private affairs of the college, and contented themselves with appointing Messrs. Derby and Austin a special committee "to proceed immediately to the Town of Cambridge & endeavor to procure suitable houses for General Burgoine's officers in such ways & manner as they shall think most adviseable."[1] But *qua* Overseers they were, in baseball parlance, "on their home grounds." That same day they had held a meeting to consider Heath's application of the 8th to the Corporation, which, as we have seen, the Corporation had passed on to them. The brief and formal terms of that note, however, had not impressed them very strongly, and "after some debate and conference on the subject" they had adjourned to the next afternoon without taking any action.[2]

On the 12th they accordingly reconvened after the meeting of the Council, and indeed without leaving the council chamber. This time they so far exceeded their technical status as to consider also the general's appeal to the Council. Its alarmingly plain language woke them up most effectually, "and having been informed by General Heath that after repeated attempts to procure Quarters for said officers among the dwelling houses in Cambridge, he has not been able to succeed, tho' the most generous price has been offered; and being willing *in a case of such public importance & necessity to do all in their power to secure the public honor, peace, and safety,* do earnestly and unanimously recommend it to the Corporation to consent that one or more of the buildings of the College be allowed to the abovementioned Officers." (This was as far as they could go, since the actual ownership and management of the college property was vested in the Corporation.) They also voted that in the absence of President Langdon "Dr. Appleton the Senior Fellow of the College be served with a Copy of the preceding vote and be desired immediately to call a Meeting of the Corporation to take it into consideration." Then, evidently thinking that the Corporation would bear watching, they adjourned to the next day.[3]

[1] Nov. 11, 1777. Council Records, xxi, 867.— Copy in Mass. Archives, 168/8.
[2] Overseers' Records, iii, 122.
[3] Ibid.

The Great Cambridge Conspiracy

Matters were now moving rapidly. On the 13th Messrs. Derby and Austin, the special committee of the Council, reported that they had "spent the Day at Cambridge on that Business," that the officers' quarters "at present are in several Respects Inconvenient & *not Such as they have a Right to Expect*," that they had done their best to hire sufficient private houses "for the Gen[l] Officers & such Commission Officers, as are not furnished with Quarters, & such as are Crouded where they now are, but the Committee are Led to think, that some pains had been taken, to prevent the People who have Hired the Houses Lately owned by Persons who have Joined the Enemy, Letting said Houses for that purpose, and therefore have only been able to agree for one, Namely for the House Lately the Widow Vassalls." As to the use of a college building they reported that so many of the Harvard Corporation were absent that a meeting could not be held till the next day; "but without one or more of the college houses we are of opinion that sufficient houses cannot be obtained," — although Mr. Hall, one of the tutors, had promised that he would procure several other houses and so relieve the college.[1]

The chief interest of this report lies in the way that Derby and Austin, in their disgust and irritation, had fairly and officially let the cat out of the bag. The committee appointed at the Cambridge town meeting had not confined themselves, it appeared, to their specified duties, but (acting doubtless on the unrecorded "sense of the meeting") had instigated the householders of the village to enter into a regular conspiracy to exclude the British officers from the quarters which Heath originally intended for them. Such townsmen as were ready and willing to do their part in carrying out the Convention had been coerced into the opposite course, in order that the whole town should form a sort of *mare clausum* to the bearers of his Majesty's commission. Let the officers herd with their men in the barracks! Even that was too good for the bloody lobsterbacks. Never mind what they had been promised. The promise to send them home to England was bad enough, and a mistake that never should have been made. Compared to that, what did this signify? Let them have a taste of hardship before they started!

The plot of course was obvious long before it was officially noted

[1] Council Records, xxi, 871.— Mass. Archives, 168/12.

by the committee of the Council. No collection of diverse and disparate humanity could present such an unbroken front without concerted intent. Even the prisoners themselves knew the story. "The Officers," wrote Burgoyne in his first letter to Heath, "feel these hardships the more greviously as they have reason to believe there are many inhabitants within the limits proposed willing to receive them as lodgers were they at liberty so to do." [1] At a later date he stated the case more fully:

> There were, at the time of the above complaints, houses more than sufficient for the purpose, some of them, as I have been informed, under sequestration, and possessed only by tenants at will, over which the council of the Massachusetts had consequently controul; others possessed by persons who would have been willing to receive officers, had they not been prevented by the committee of Cambridge.[2]

Ensign Anburey was not so specific, but was sufficiently accurate, when he wrote, "Permission was denied us to accommodate ourselves with rooms in this town, till General Burgoyne arrived, and represented our situation to the Council at Boston, when it was reluctantly granted." [3] Heath himself admitted in his published account of the affair that "some individuals were refractory," upon this point,[4] but was too politic to enlighten posterity further as to the failings of their ancestors.

It is thoroughly characteristic of the atmosphere which surrounded this miserable business that, in the face of such evidence, official and unofficial, as has been given above, and will be adduced hereafter, the committee of Congress, appointed later to consider Burgoyne's conduct, tried to whitewash the Cantabrigians with such pitiful excuses as "the sudden and unexpected arrival of so large a body of troops, the concourse of strangers in and near Boston, the devastation and destruction occasioned by the British army, not long since blocked up in that town, and by the American army which besieged them; and considering that the officers were not to be separated from their men, and that the troops could not be quartered with equal convenience in any other place within the limits pointed out and described in the convention, as there are not a sufficient number of barracks in any

[1] Nov. 10, 1777. *Parliamentary Register*, xii, Appendix, p. iv.— Mass. Archives, 198 / 287.

[2] Burgoyne to President of Congress. Cambridge, Feb. 11, 1778. *Parliamentary Register*, xi. 211.— Original in Public Record Office, London: Colonial Office, Class 5, vol. 98, p. 385.

[3] Letter of Nov. 30, 1777. *Travels through America*, ii, 59.

[4] Nov. 14, 1777. *Memoirs* (ed. 1901), 127.

other part of that state."[1] From such disingenuous paltering, such pressing of side issues, one might suppose that the Congressional board had never heard of the Cambridge committee nor the determination of the town meeting that the officers should not "have the range of the town."

Nevertheless, that committee had done its spiteful work thoroughly and well. Not only the householders of Cambridge, but the staff of Harvard College, had received their cue. In consequence, the unusual housing facilities to be found in Cambridge — the numerous deserted mansions of the Tories and the ample halls of the university — were absolutely unavailable, and the unfortunate officers were, so to speak, starving in a land of plenty. They might have done better in the poorest frontier settlement.

The Siege of Harvard College

Against this barrier of prejudice and selfishness, now openly acknowledged, the Council (or, in other words, the Overseers) threw themselves in support of the gallant exertions of General Heath. At their adjourned meeting on the 13th, the Overseers considered Derby and Austin's report to the Council, and also the news, communicated by Dr. Eliot, one of the Corporation, that Dr. Appleton had called a meeting for the morrow. To await the action of that body, they thereupon adjourned to the next day.[2]

On the 14th accordingly the Corporation at last gathered their scattered forces to consider the situation that in spite of their evasions had been forced upon them. Very ungraciously ignoring Heath's request of the 8th, they confined their attention to the vote of the Overseers recommending the use of a building for the officers. Nor would they meet even that issue squarely. One reason for their delay, it appeared, had been to give time for Mr. Tutor Hall to make a fresh canvass of Cambridge, so as to avoid their obligations by showing that there were, after all, plenty of houses available. Hall's success, where both civil and military authorities had failed so completely, shows at a glance the Cambridge men's selfish duplicity. What they had unanimously refused at the call of honor and the demands of humanity, they were instantly able to grant when danger threatened the college, by which (in one way or another) most of

[1] *Journals of Congress*, x, 32.
[2] Overseers' Records, iii, 123.

them made their livelihood.[1] Indeed the report unblushingly admitted as much:

The following Accommodations can be had for ye Officers of Mr. [*sic*] Burgoyne's late army.

At Lieut. Governor Oliver's late house . . . . . 7 Rooms
encumbred only by Mr. Treadwell, whose whole interest in s^d^ house is but £4:0:0 p^r^ Ann.
At Judge Lee's A field Officer . . . . . 2 Rooms
At Judge Sewall's late house . . . . . 8 Rooms
the State remitting to ye present possessors ye Rent of ye current year & removing their Effects
Mrs. Vassall's house . . . . . 10 Rooms
Mrs. Wendell gives encouragement, that if giving up her house will preserve ye Colleges from ye possession of ye British Troops, she will endeavour to accommodate with . . . 7 Rooms
At Mr. Bradish's (Hunt's late house) . . . . . 8 Rooms
encumbered only by Dr Foster's present Residence
At D^r^. Kneeland's A field Officer, or two . . . . . 2, or 4 Rooms
At Mr. Wigglesworth's two of our own field Officers
At Mr. Prof. Sewall's . . . . . 3 Rooms
Mr. Borland's late house may be had . . . . . 12 Rooms
upon some conditions, or other
At Mr. John Hastings's . . . . . 1 Room
At Capt Stedman's . . . . . 2 Rooms
At Dr Moore's . . . . . 2 Rooms
At Mrs. Hicks's . . . . . 2 Rooms
N.B. ye two last mentioned places are Rooms already occupied by Officers.

S. HALL[2]

On the strength of this list the Corporation professed to consider the grounds of the Overseers' vote "now in a great measure, if not wholly removed. Nevertheless to demonstrate their readiness to comply with every Recommendation of the Board, & *to promote ye publick Honour, Peace & Safety*, the Corporation consent that ye House lately purchased by them for ye Residence of ye Students, containing 12 Rooms, be employed to ye above mentioned purpose, upon reasonable terms, in case it cannot be otherwise accomplished."[3]

[1] In 1782 the French traveller Chastellux observed, "Cambridge is a little town, inhabited only by students, professors, and the small number of servants and workmen they employ."

[2] Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 37.

[3] "College Book," vii, 334.— Copy in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 37. Present: Dr. Appleton, Dr. Winthrop, Dr. Eliot, Dr. Cooper, Mr. Hall, Treasurer Storer. The rent afterwards agreed on was $8 a week.

The house referred to was the somewhat notorious "Wiswall's Den" (bought by the College in 1772), occupying a part of the site of the present College House, in Harvard Square. It was "an ugly, three-story, brick-ended, wooden fronted" dwelling,[1] unsavory in more senses than one, and not what Heath wanted at all. The Overseers were equally disgusted with the Corporation's grandiloquent equivocation, and at their meeting on the afternoon of the same day, on reviewing the above action, decided to clear the decks altogether by recommending to the Corporation "immediately to dismiss the Students to their several homes." [2]

This appalling vote, by which the Overseers of Harvard seemed to abandon their allegiance and literally go over to the enemy, fell upon the Corporation like a bombshell. Well might they feel that they had been wounded in the house of their friends! Their artifice had not only failed, but had left them far worse off than before, since they now faced the evacuation of all the dormitories instead of only one, and the real "disbanding" of the university. Again they played for time by waiting till the 17th, when a regular adjourned meeting of their board was due. At that meeting the guardians of the college property held an agitated discussion. They could not openly oppose the Overseers, to whom they had voluntarily referred the question; and yet they were determined to hold the fort to the last shot in the locker. After much quibbling, they arrived at an apparent acquiescence, couched in terms at once dignified and mysterious. As there were "some matters of great importance to ye College, that are necessary to be Adjusted before ye Students are dismissed," the Faculty were "desired" to dismiss them "as soon as possible." [3] What these matters of great importance were has never been explained.

By thus bringing in the Faculty — the third and lowest collegiate board, consisting of the actual teaching force and concerned with the immediate administrative details of the institution — and by leaving the matter to their discretion, the Corporation had still further complicated the situation. As the Faculty were of course all residents of Cambridge, their hostile bias was the most pronounced of anyone's. This they showed at once, together with their interpretation of the responsibility entrusted to them. The holiday of Thanksgiving was close at hand (Nov. 20), when the students were always

[1] John Holmes. *Harvard Book*, ii, 30.
[2] Overseers' Records, iii, 125.
[3] "College Book," vii, 336.

given a few days' vacation. But the very next day after the affair had been committed to them, the Faculty, fearful that the military authorities might steal a march on them if the college buildings were vacated for even a week, voted that whereas "the peculiar critical circumstances of the College at present render it highly inexpedient that the Scholars should be absent from the College at this time," therefore "no leave of Absence be granted to any of the Scholars to go home to Thanksgiving this Year."[1] Thus the attempt of the Overseers to get rid of the students at once, resulted only in making them sit tighter than ever!

The Massachusetts Council (virtually, we must remember, the Harvard Overseers) had also been watching the course of events with steadily increasing irritation and alarm. On Nov. 18 they appointed a new committee, Messrs. Cushing and Holten, to pierce if possible the fog of evasion and delay by enquiring of Heath whether enough houses really could be provided in Cambridge for the officers "Exclusive of the Colleges, & if not, How many Rooms are still Wanting."[2] On the same day Heath again addressed the Council, setting forth the situation in detail, since "the Officers are still extremely uneasy as to their Quarters." Either anticipating or replying to the new committee's enquiries, he observed:

> I was informed the last evening, that it was reported that near ninety rooms could be obtained, and that it would be needless to take any part of the Colleges, but if every room from the Garret to the Seller are counted in those Houses allotted to the General Officers, as there are twelve in the House occupied by General Burgoyne & his Suit, more than one half of the Ninety rooms pretended to be procured will be those of the General Officers, and we shall but deceive ourselves by such enumeration. . . . I most sincerely wish that the matter might be accommodated, and it appears to me that it might be easily done.[3]

Apparently feeling that he had not been sufficiently explicit, he summarized the matter in a supplementary note, which hints at fresh activities by the Cambridge committee:

> Quarters are not as yet provided at Cambridge sufficient for the accommodation of the Officers of Gen[l] Burgoyne's late army, neither do I conceive it practicable to obtain them Exclusive of at least one of the Colleges, as the Officers do most peremptorily insist upon being Quartered

[1] Nov. 18, 1777. Faculty Records, iv, 74.

[2] Council Records, xxi, 880.— Mass. Archives, 173/587.— Copy in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 45.

[3] Mass. Archives, 198/296.— Draft in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 44.

according to rank; besides several Houses which were supposed to have been engaged are now refused.[1]

This last touch of impudence brought the Council to the point where patience ceased to be a virtue. In their capacity of Overseers they had shot their bolt with little effect: they now determined to exert their full power as the supreme civil authority, and since all other means had failed, to take a college building by executive enactment.

Council Chamber, Nov. 18, 1777

Whereas Major General Heath has represented to this Board that there has not been sufficient Houses taken up for the accommodation of the Officers Belonging to General Burgoyne's Army now Prisoners in the Town of Cambridge and that it is not practicable to obtain them exclusive of at least one of the colleges, and it appearing to the Council of the utmost Importance that the said Officers should be immediately Supplyed with suitable rooms for their accommodation

Therefore Ordered that Major General Heath be and he hereby is Authorized to take up such and so many rooms in one of the Colledges viz Massachusetts Hall as will be necessary to accomodate the Officers belonging to General Burgoyne's Army, now Prisoners in the town of Cambridge. Provided he cannot procure rooms sufficient for the accomodation of the said officers in the dwelling houses within the limits prescribed for the officers aforesaid. And Provided also the said Officers that shall be Quartered in the rooms in the Colledge will be answerable for all the damages that shall accrue to the Colledges by reason of their being placed there and pay a reasonable rent for the same. And General Heath is hereby desired to give due notice To the immediate Governors of the Colledge or the major part of them That the Students may have sufficient time to move their effects therefrom and secure the same.

To The Revd Doctor Nathaniel
Appleton senior fellow of
Harvard College, Cambridge.[2]

This unique document, unparalleled in the history of the college and of the state, was aimed directly, it will be seen, at the "immediate government," or Faculty, but was addressed to the chairman *pro tem* of the Corporation. It was also officially known to the Overseers, who met by adjournment the afternoon of the same day and reviewed the whole situation to date, but contented themselves with awaiting the outcome of the new developments by a series of further adjourn-

[1] Mass. Archives, 198/302.— Draft in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 45.

[2] Council Records, xxi, 880.— Draft in Mass. Archives, 168/23.— Copy in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 44.

ments.[1] The commands of the highest civil authority, in short, were unmistakably heard in every corner of Harvard College.

Accordingly on the 19th General Heath, with the whole power of the Commonwealth behind him, had the satisfaction of writing to the "Governors of the College" as follows:

Head Quarters Boston Novr. 19, 1777.

Revd Sirs

The Honble Council of this State by an order of yesterday have directed that the Rooms in Massachusetts Hall should be taken up for the accommodation of the Officers of Genl Burgoyne's late Army if rooms sufficient for their accommodation cannot be procured in the Dwelling Houses in the Town of Cambridge, the latter after repeated endeavours appears impracticable. I would therefore request that you will be pleased to give directions to the Students in Massachusetts Hall to remove their Effects as soon as possible. It is with great reluctance that I ask this favor, and nothing but necessity could induce me to do it.—

I am
With great respect
Your Most Obd^{t} Servant
W HEATH M G [2]

Revd Fellows of Harvard College

Here was something that to the meanest intelligence must appear conclusive. Yet incredible as it may seem, the Faculty managed once again to stave off the issue by a mixture of the thinnest technicality and the weakest sentimentalism.

To the Honble Council of the State of Massachusetts Bay 20 Nov. 1777

May it please your Honors

An Order of the Honble Council of this State (accompanied with a Letter from Major General Heath) has been communicated to the immediate Governors of Harvard College . . .

Upon which we, the major part of the immediate Governors of Harvard College, beg leave to observe that the Students are not to remove their effects, but only in consequence of the *Provisos* above specified — With regard to the *first* Proviso, we think it our duty to acquaint the Honble Board that it appears from a Schedule laid before us by Mr. Hall, who was desired by a Committee of the Council to procure Rooms, that he has already engaged a greater number of Rooms than was proposed as necessary.— With regard to the *second* Proviso, we are at a loss to know, whom the Honble Board supposes these officers are to be answerable to, for the damages that may accrue to the College, and with whom they are to agree for the Rent to be paid. We conceive, that we have no authority

[1] Overseers' Records, iii, 126.

[2] Harvard College Papers, ii, 35.— Draft in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 46.

to transact affairs of this nature. The College Estate is vested in the Corporation as Trustees; and we are humbly of opinion that every matter relating to that Estate lies with the Corporation.— As to the Students removing their effects and, what must be the immediate consequence, returning to their respective homes, we humbly apprehend, that it cannot be done upon very short notice, without subjecting the Students to great difficulties. Most of them cannot do it without assistance from their Parents, several of whom live at considerable distances.

All which is humbly submitted

J. Winthrop
E. Wigglesworth
Stephen Sewall
Stephen Hall
Ja. Winthrop
Benj^a Guild [1]

At the Faculty meeting when this interesting document was prepared, it was also voted "that Mr. Hall be desired to wait upon the Honble Council, and lay before them the Schedule of the Rooms already provided; and the foregoing Representation; and also wait upon General Heath with Copies of the same." [2] This Schedule was an amplification of Hall's first list, dressed out in livelier colors, and including the latest acquisitions, but (as Heath had pointed out) shamelessly padded by including the quarters already occupied by the generals and their staffs.

State of quarters for Genl Burgoyne & his Officers in the Town of Cambridge, already possessed, or ready to be taken possession of.

Mr. Borland's late House, 12 Rooms completely finished, besides upper Rooms fit to lodge in.

Late Judge Sewall's, 10 Rooms; 7 upright & handsome; one large convenient kitchen; two handsome & convenient upper Rooms fit to lodge in; also a garret fit for Servants to lodge in.

Mrs. Vassall's, a large house with many Rooms, ten, I am told, at least fit to quarter in.

Capt: Stedman's 2 large Rooms.

Mrs. Morse's 2 Rooms

Mr. Prof. Sewall's, Commissary Higgins & family.

Half of Widow Borland's late house, a large square house.

Col^n Thacher's, an handsome Room, completely furnished.

[1] Mass. Archives, 168/24.— Copies in Harvard College Papers, ii, 35 and Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 47. John Winthrop was professor of mathematics, Edward Wigglesworth, of divinity, Stephen Sewall, of Hebrew, Stephen Hall and Benjamin Guild were tutors, and James Winthrop was librarian.

[2] Memorandum in Harvard College Papers, ii, 35. In the Faculty Record Book there are no minutes of this meeting of Nov. 20, but a space is left on the page.

College house, 12 Rooms.
Mr. John hastings's, one Room.
Mrs. Gookins's, one Room.
Six houses occupied by Officers on Charlestown Road.[1]
One field Officer at Mr. Marshes
A Commissary at Judge Lee's.
A field Officer at Mr. Howe's
Two Capts at Mr. Warland's
Two Capts at Dr. Moore's
A Capt & Lieut: at Mrs. Hicks's.
Two, or three Officers at Mr. Welsh's
One Room occupied at Mr. Boardman's
Quarters that may be had.
At late Gov. Oliver's house, 7 Rooms.
Deacon Hill's 2 Rooms
Mr. Barrett's 2 Rooms.

S. HALL [2]

Heath, however, was not to be put off by this sort of thing. On Nov. 22 he ordered his quartermaster, Col. Chase, to arrange for the rent of College House, and also "for the Rent of Massachusetts Hall, as it appears impracticable to procure proper quarters for the officers of Gen[l] Burgoyne's army without the improvement of that College.... You will also wait upon the immediate Governors of the College & acquaint them of the necessity of Massachusetts Hall being cleared without further delay." [3]

And still, with the insensate tenacity of limpets on a rock, the Faculty clung to their hall. The Quartermaster might thunder on their doors; he was to realize as never before that the pen is mightier than the sword. The Council might issue its legal fiats; it had overlooked the maxim that possession is nine points of the law. The Overseers might impotently insist on their ultimatum; they were learning that the cloistered seclusion of academic life was no empty phrase. Had Harvard College existed under Henry VIII, that redoubtable dissolver of monasteries would there have met his match. Blind to the consequences, deaf to every order, and now dumb (as far as written records show) the "Immediate Government" literally held their own against all comers.[4] Another avenue of escape was open-

[1] See note, p. 24 *ante*.
[2] Mass. Archives, 168/27.
[3] Copy in Harvard College Papers, ii, 39.— Draft in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 51.
[4] Cf. the acute summary of Sergeant Lamb: "It is true that the Court of Massachusetts passed resolutions for procuring suitable accommodations for them; but from the general

ing before them. The House of Representatives was due to reassemble on November 26, and might take a more favorable attitude towards the college, its original creation and the recipient of its immemorial favors.

Sure enough, on the 27th the legislature, blandly ignoring the long-drawn battle that had been waged during its recess, began *de novo* by appointing a joint committee, Farley, Brown, and Cushing, with the novel (?) instructions "to confer with General Heath on the subject of procuring quarters for the officers of the Army lately under the Command of General Burgoyne, and report what is proper to be done." [1]

This was a crushing blow to the American commander. Dazed and exhausted by his fruitless struggle for Massachusetts Hall, he could not bring himself to reopen the whole question with the new committee. He determined instead on a fresh line of action. According to the report of the committee, he "informed them that he found it impracticable to provide Quarters for all the officers in the Houses in the town of Cambridge, that he was averse to taking up either of the Colledges for that purpose if it could be prevented, that he thought it might be avoided by Quartering some of the officers at Medford and Menotomy." The committee approved of this solution, "as less Inconvenience and Expense will arise than by taking up one of the Colledges." By a joint resolution of both chambers, therefore, the general was "desired to procure quarters for such officers as are not yet provided for, at Medford and Menotomy agreeable to the above report." [2]

Again Heath lost no time in trying to relieve the long-suffering officers, and to meet a situation that now contained a new element of discredit. On November 28 he reported to the Council:

I this Day received the Resolve of the Hon. Assembly for Extending the Limits of the officers and soldiers of the Convention and promising Quarters for them in Menotomy & Medford — I immediately sent up my Quarter Master With Directions, to ask the company & assistance of Mr.

unwillingness of the people to administer the least civility, and from the feebleness of the authority which the American rulers had at that time over the property of their fellow citizens, their situation was rendered truly deplorable." *Journal of Occurrences in the American War*, 195.

[1] Mass. Archives, 216/29.— Engrossed copy in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 49.— *Journals of the House*, Nov. 27, 1777.

[2] Mass. Archives, 216/29.— Engrossed copy in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 59.— "Court Records," xxxviii, 163. Menotomy was the present Arlington.

Hall one of the Tutors of the College with whom He would proceed to the before mentioned places and see what Houses can be possibly obtained. He is not returned but I fear the number will be few from the Intelligence I have received. From the supposed certain prospect which presented itself a few Days since, I ventured to give my Honor to the Officers that they should have proper Quarters within Eight Days from the 25th Instant, upon the pledge of which they have signed their paroles. If Quarters are not obtained I need not mention the disagreeable Situation which I shall be in.[1]

And now the Harvard Faculty; seeing the tide of attack begin to flow safely past the college into new channels, suddenly emerged from its shell and took its most insolent action of all. The regular long winter vacation was by this time drawing near, scheduled to begin the first Wednesday in December. On the previous Saturday, November 29, the "immediate governors" affected to recollect their instructions to dismiss the students "as soon as possible," and with a great show of alacrity resolved that

Whereas the Honble & Revd Overseers & Corporation have recommended to the immediate Governors of the College to dismiss the Students as soon as possible, after some matters of great Importance to the College should be adjusted,— therefore

Voted.— That all who can, or are desirous to go home this day, may have Leave by applying to a Tutor; & that the Remainder be dismissed next Monday Morning, to return on the first Wednesday in Feby next, unless they shall receive public Notice to the Contrary.

Voted. That if any Scholars should be detained in Town they shall acquaint a Tutor therewith; & if he give them Leave to tarry, upon returning their Names to the Steward, he be directed to make Provision for them till Wednesday next, & no longer, & charge it as sizings [i.e. extras].[2]

This slight anticipation of the vacation, now nothing but a piece of effrontery, might just as well have been made a few weeks earlier, when it would have saved the honor of the college, the town, and the state. That however seems to have been no concern of the Faculty. They had succeeded in distressing the inoffending officers, in incommoding both civil and military authorities, and in blocking the good intentions of the Overseers, to the utmost of their power; and their petty spite took a final triumphant fling in subsequently extending

[1] Draft in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 60. This whole passage is struck across with the pen, and may not have been sent. It is to be noted that Heath records in his private journal, "Nov. 25. This day Genl Burgoyne &c signed their paroles." MS. at Mass. Hist. Soc.

[2] Faculty Records, iv, 78.

the vacation to the first Wednesday in March; so that while the unfortunate officers were scattered far and wide under every form of discomfort, the college halls that might have gathered them so conveniently remained totally vacant nearly all winter — perhaps the most ungracious spectacle ever presented in the College Yard.[1]

The Final Parole Limits

Having followed the complicated moves in this protracted game of dog-in-the-manger as played in Cambridge, it remains for us to accompany General Heath into the surrounding towns in the last stage of his endeavors to fulfil the Convention and assign proper quarters to the officers who had surrendered on the faith of its terms. A week was spent in ransacking the possibilities of Medford and Menotomy according to the order of the legislature. During this time Burgoyne, who had been watching the American's honest efforts with sympathetic appreciation, took a hand in lightening those labors as much as he could. Seeing that the houses of Cambridge were to be very nearly, and the halls of Harvard were to be absolutely, closed to his officers, so that their stay on Prospect Hill was to be more than an uncomfortable but temporary makeshift, he did his best to assuage their feelings by giving them a *raison d'être* and a professional status there. On Dec. 4 he issued orders that, to prevent desertions and preserve discipline, "as many Officers as can possibly be lodged in the Barracks without danger to their Health, or very unusual Inconvenience, must for the present constantly reside there." At the same time he could not forbear the satiric comment, "It is expected they will cheerfully forego the prospect of any extension of Quarters in Cambridge."[2]

Perhaps stung by this shaft, Heath the next day reported to the General Court that despite every effort of his quartermaster and the ubiquitous Mr. Hall, only a few houses had been obtained in Medford,

[1] Much of this episode has already been told by FitzHenry Smith, Jr., "Were Burgoyne's Officers Quartered on the College?" *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, xi, 50.

The success of the college authorities in forcing the officers to occupy private lodgings had an unexpectedly awkward sequel. The widely attended festival of Commencement, which had been discontinued since the beginning of the war, had to be omitted again in 1778, this time because of two grievous afflictions — a visitation of the smallpox and "the want of necessary Accommodations in the Town of Cambridge, the Houses being crowded with British Officers." Corporation vote of June 10, 1778. "College Book," viii, 2.

[2] *Hadden's Orderly Book*, 332.

and these had been assigned to the "Officers of the Foreign Corps"; so that the number of British officers unprovided for remained nearly the same as before.[1] He therefore asked whether he might include Watertown in the parole limits.[2]

But the legislature, having saved Harvard College, the apple of its eye, was disposed to be difficult. After delaying three days, and some wrangling in committee, it advanced a counter-proposition, allowing houses to be taken (with permission of the owners) on the road to Lexington, and up "as far as Lexenton meeting House if Needs be."[3] Four days later, after a faithful search of that district, Heath fairly boiled over. The Lexington scheme, he reported, had been a total failure;

Not more than two or three rooms can be obtained at any rate on that road, and indeed how are Quarters to be expected from an extention to Fields and scattered Farm Houses? Your Honors are sensible that it is in large public Buildings, in populous Towns and Villages, that they are found. The subject of Quarters has been long debated — they are not as yet provided: *Every principle of Interest and policy call for our attention to the fulfilment of the Convention.* The probable short stay of the Troops still more engages it, as they will wish to catch at every pretext as an infringement, and will avail themselves of improving it to our disadvantage. If the Colleges are not to be taken, why should Watertown be refused where Quarters can be procured with ease? Can one material objection of disadvantage to the public be alledged against it, that upon one moment's reflection does not at present almost equally exist? *Public Faith, Honor & Interest compel me immediately to find proper Quarters,* I wish — I need,— I ask your Assistance that it may be compleated this day for reasons which I cannot mention; If I should not be so happy as to obtain your assistance to effect it, I hope that such measures as necessity may compel me to take will not be disagreeable.

I have the honor to be
with great respect
Your obed. Servt
W. HEATH[4]

Such a frank statement of the dangers of the situation, and such an open threat of summary action, brought the legislature to its senses.

[1] There is a not unpleasing tradition that at one of the Medford taverns within the parole limits the German officers had the good fortune to discover a stock of Rhenish wine, which they hugely enjoyed — while it lasted.

[2] Dec. 5, 1777. Mass. Archives, 216/126.— Draft in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 78.

[3] *House Journal*, Dec. 8, 1777.— Mass. Archives, 216/102.

[4] Dec. 12, 1777. Mass. Archives, 216/118.—Draft in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 94.

On the same day they issued an order allowing Heath to take up quarters in private houses "with the permission of the owners" (an ominous clause), on the road to Watertown as far as Mr. Remington's dwelling, over the Watertown bridge as far as Angier's Corner, and on the North Road in Watertown.[1]

The Watertown extension was the final addition to the parole limits, which, by the stages and for the causes traced above, had gradually expanded from the district immediately around the barracks to the whole vicinity of Cambridge. The completed parole (see Appendix) is dated Dec. 13, the day Heath assured Burgoyne that all officers unprovided for should have quarters in Watertown.[2] On the faith of this promise many officers signed.[3] Others (including apparently Burgoyne himself) had signed a fortnight before, when Heath felt so sure of getting Massachusetts Hall that he had given his word that all officers should be comfortably housed by the end of November.[4] A few, it may be added, in whom their treatment rankled most deeply, never signed at all.

But the incredible perversity of public opinion continued to block every move, and nullify every promise, of the American commander, who was now struggling singlehanded against this really serious diplomatic crisis, and to spin out the wretched business to unimaginable lengths. The men of Watertown adopted the same obstructive policy as their brethren of Cambridge, and in an even bolder form. Again therefore the disgusted Heath unbosomed himself to the General Court in a burst of wrath that does him credit:

> My Quarter Master went on yesterday to Watertown in order to take up Quarters for the Officers agreeable to the Resolve of both Houses of Assembly of the 12th Instant. Upon his arrival he was met by the Selectmen of the Town and Committee, who Informed him that they had been to the Owners of the several Houses which He had engaged, and had forbid them admitting any of the British Officers, and would still continue to forbid them until it was allowed by a Vote of the Town.—
>
> As the foregoing needs no comment, I shall not make any.—
>
> On Saturday [Dec. 13] I assured Gen[l] Burgoyne that his officers should

[1] *House Journals*, Dec. 12, 1777.— "Court Records," xxxviii, 197.— Mass. Archives, 216/118.

[2] See below.

[3] The well-informed editor of the *Annual Register* says the officers signed, not because they considered that their grievances were redressed, but mainly to do what they could "in order to remove this new difficulty" caused by Burgoyne's indiscreet letter of Nov. 14. *Annual Register* for 1778, p. 213.

[4] See p. 52 *ante*.

have Quarters immediately in Watertown; I then immagined that I might give such assurance with safety — as I had the Resolve of both Houses before me for it. But if this is to be disputed by a COMMITTEE or SELECTMEN of a TOWN I think it may justly be called a PHENOMANON in Government.[1]

The Roxbury man knew his audience. They might be callous as to the violation of the Convention, and indifferent as to the consequences thereof, but they were sensitive enough as to their own dignity. The very day that Heath made his report, they resolved that the selectmen and committee of Watertown be served with an attested copy thereof, and directed to attend the Council on the 17th "and answer to the matters alleged against them."[2] This decisive action had the desired effect — if it had been taken with the Cambridge committee in the beginning, the whole controversy would never have occurred — and no further objection seems to have been made to quartering a considerable group of officers in Watertown.

For those that were still left unprovided with proper lodgings after this six weeks of confusion, nothing remained but the barracks; and there a number of them appear to have passed the winter, exposed to quite unnecessary, and very humiliating, hardships. Ensign Anburey records:

We laboured under many distresses and difficulties; every species of provision was very dear, and to add to our misfortune, could hardly be procured for money. You do not, I believe, in England, rank milk in the catalogue of luxuries; yet we were obliged, *ourselves*, to traverse a deep snow for a full mile, to get a small quantity for our breakfasts, as our servants were not permitted to pass the centinels. . . . To preserve order and regularity among the troops, three officers of each regiment constantly reside in the barracks.[3]

Captain Cleve writes:

I am lodged in the same miserable house with my Brigadier. My room is in the attic, and the cracks in the boarded walls are so large that you can see everything going on outside. I never felt so cold before in my life. I can't go a step from my fire-place, and the ink has frozen on my pen more than a hundred times. During the recent snow-storm, accompanied by a high wind, the snow was a foot deep in my room. The

[1] Dec. 15, 1777. Mass. Archives, 198/351.— Draft in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 99.

[2] "Court Records," xxxviii, 208.

[3] Letter of Nov. 30, 1777. *Travels through America*, ii, 60.

poor fellows in the barracks endure even greater hardships, for they have neither straw nor covering.[1]

To set this picture in its true colors, we must recall that the men to whom such treatment was meted out were not a crowd of dunderheaded subalterns, bottle-nosed majors, and superannuated garrison colonels (as British officers have been only too often represented by American writers), but the flower of the English fighting aristocracy, including scions of the peerage, sons of the great landed families, and men of wealth and fashion in the most exclusive clubs of London. The older among them had acquired wide experience, and won well-deserved honors, in various crack corps of the British army. The younger were keenly set on their profession, and had bright prospects of advancement: no less than thirty-three of them subsequently rose to the rank of general. Among the staff officers alone there were six members of Parliament. "It must be admitted," says the biographer who has most closely studied the personnel, "that rarely has so brilliant an array of British officers been marshalled under one commander." [2] Had these high-spirited and highly disciplined gentlemen been forced to spend the winter among the savages in the wilderness, not a murmur would have escaped them. But to be treated like pariahs in the midst of a well-to-do and well-nurtured community of their own race,[3] in a town famous for its standards of religion and morality, was an insult which they could ill brook — nor can we wonder.

Thus were Burgoyne's officers finally quartered — a poor makeshift at the best of it. The consequences were both unfortunate and unforeseen. Although by the original intentions of all parties the stay of the Convention Troops in Cambridge was to be but brief, so that the lodging of the officers would have been only a temporary inconvenience, yet through the very fact that their quarters were so bad it fell out that they were forced to occupy them for almost a year. The reasons for this "vicious circle" are of extreme interest. But before we examine them we may glance at the daily life of the captives, especially those in the Vassall house mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

[1] Letter of Dec. 18, 1777. Schlözer, *Briefwechsel*, iv, 376.

[2] Horatio Rogers, editor of *Hadden's Journal and Orderly Book*, p. xlvi.

[3] "Rumor in many tongues, cries out a French War. Should it be so, I shall hope to join you in Fields where we have fought and conquer'd. There conquest becomes a gratification and the mind exults. Here pity interposes and we cannot forget that when we strike we wound a Brother." Phillips to Clinton. Cambridge, May 20, 1778. Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on American MSS.*, i, 254.

PRISON LIFE IN CAMBRIDGE

Amidst all the inhospitable selfishness of the inhabitants of Cambridge that has been set forth above, the conduct of Captain Adams, ex-innkeeper of Charlestown and temporary possessor of the confiscated mansion of Col. Henry Vassall,[1] stands out in grateful relief. Perhaps as a stranger in town he did not share the bitter animosity shown by the old residents; perhaps he felt reminiscent prickings of his former legal duty to provide entertainment for man and beast; perhaps he realized from experience the golden harvest that awaited the sickle of a tactful and not too scrupulous Boniface. At all events, as we have seen,[2] his door was the first to open at the knock of the quartermaster; nor did he embarrass that functionary with provisos or restrictions.

Here, therefore, we may infer were immediately quartered as many and as important officers of the Convention Troops as the house would hold, comportable with their own punctilious ideas on questions of dignity and rank. Tradition has always run that they were members of Burgoyne's staff, or "general officers." The possibilities therefore include Charles Green and R. R. Wilford, aides de camp, R. Kingston, deputy adjutant general, Jonathan Clarke, commissary general, George Vallancey, assistant quartermaster general, David Geddes, deputy paymaster general, Robert Hoakesly, wagonmaster general, together with such of the chaplains, surgeons, etc., as the fanciful reader may care to select from the useful list in the appendix to O'Callaghan's edition of *Burgoyne's Orderly Book.*

Certainly they were as diametrically opposite to the last military occupants — when the house had been used as a hospital for the Americans two years before — as can easily be conceived. Indeed for the average Yankee the idea of professional soldiers was inconceivable. Captain Cleve, one of the German prisoners, observed: "Since the guards here are militia regiments, and almost all officers in them are manual laborers, it has cost us much trouble to impart the idea that our officers had no handicrafts: they had believed that our officers did not follow their trades out of mere whim."[3] Equally

[1] See Camb. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, x, 54.

[2] See p. 41 *ante*.

[3] Letter of Dec. 18, 1777. Schlözer, *Briefwechsel*, iv, 378. In the same way Lafayette, on his triumphal progress through the country after the war, was everywhere greeted with the question, "What do you do for a living?"

baffling was the status of members of the nobility and gentry engaged in such a pursuit. "Well, if that be a lord," ejaculated a farmer's wife after a critical inspection of the bedraggled representative of the house of Napier, "if that be a lord I never desire to see any other lord but the Lord Jehovah!" [1]

In effect, the folk of Cambridge were sore perplexed how to deal with these strangers. Captain Cleve wrote on Nov. 15, 1777: "The existence we endure is a tragic compromise between that of free men and slaves. . . . The Americans themselves (who for policy's sake we no longer openly refer to as rebels) are often at a loss to know to which class we actually belong." Mrs. Professor Winthrop confided her doubts about the officers to her friend Mrs. Warren: "Some polite ones say we ought not to look on them as prisoners,— that they are persons of distinguished rank. Perhaps, too, we must not view them in the light of enemies. I fear this distinction will soon be lost." [2]

The distinction *was* lost despite the strenuous efforts of the Englishmen to preserve it — efforts which well illustrate the attitude of the Convention Troops during the whole period. "The American Congress," wrote Phillips (who succeeded Burgoyne) to Clinton, "as well as many others of the Americans, have industriously used the word *Prisoners* as explanatory of the situation of the Troops of the Convention. Lieutenant General Burgoyne always asserted the Contrary — that we were not Prisoners — I have ever both in sentiment and conduct done the same. . . . By the Treaty of Convention of Saratoga, we were to have a safe passage to Europe, and to march through the Country to the Port of Boston under the protection of the parties with whom the Treaty was formed and executed; we have Considered ourselves as passengers under the sanction and virtue of a Treaty, not as Prisoners." [3]

It is hardly necessary to point out the inconsistency of the Americans' position. They spoke of the troops as prisoners, but carefully kept the various units together, and allowed them to be paraded, inspected, and disciplined by their own officers, in a manner totally at variance with the usages of an ordinary prison camp. They spoke of the officers as prisoners, but permitted them to retain their swords

[1] Letter of Nov. 25, 1777. Anburey, *Travels through America*, ii, 52.
[2] Ellet, *Women of the Revolution*, i, 98.
[3] Cambridge, June 14. 1778. Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on American MSS.*, i, 267.

and the command of their men, and forced them to quarter and subsist themselves as if in garrison. They talked of prisoners, referring to an intact army on its way home, and under temporary detention only. They bragged about their prisoners, while treating the entire force as a species of "paying guests." Military history has seldom recorded a more anomalous state of things.

A still further source of mystification to the Provincials, with their loose militia system, was the lifelong discipline and ingrained morale which enabled the officers, in spite of every effort to break their spirit by insult, deprivation, extortion, and chicanery, to preserve their professional pride, and even "now and then to play the gentleman in the midst of our conquerors." The British, it is true, did so with but an ill grace, being chiefly occupied in keeping a stiff upper lip. "Poor Burgoyne & his brave Britons bear up against their fate — He dined [after the surrender] with Gates; not a word passed on the Event or Contest." [1] Their natural arrogance was intensified by the mortification of defeat by their former fellow-subjects; and they carried matters with a high hand, "talking at large with the self-importance of lords of the soil." [2]

A portion of that soil, according to tradition, they employed for the thoroughly British purpose of a race-course. The few horses they still possessed were probably barred, but plenty of money can change pockets on the result of a foot race. The track, it is said, ran from the old burying ground in Harvard Square up the road towards Menotomy (Massachusetts Avenue), through "Love Lane" (Linnaean Street), and down Garden Street to the starting point — a distance of nearly two miles.[3] Another thoroughly characteristic light in which the Englishmen regarded the countryside was that of a game preserve. Scarcely, for example, had Brigadier-General Hamilton unpacked his trunks before he requested "permission of shooting within the Limits assigned the Officers," [4] and the Germans followed suit.

On the other hand the Hessians, who as hired fighting men felt no personal animosity towards anyone, could afford to indulge their Continental suavity in a situation which to them was merely the

[1] Wentworth to Eden. Paris, Dec. 18, 1777. Stevens, *Facsimiles*, etc., No. 317.

[2] Mrs. Winthrop to Mrs. Warren. February, 1778. Ellet, *Women of the Revolution*, I, 100.

[3] *Historic Guide to Cambridge*, 7.

[4] Cambridge, Nov. 21, 1777. Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 49.

fortune of war. "Clothed in blue cloaks" they promenaded the parole limits, greeting with "polite bows" the people of Cambridge,[1] which they voted "a friendly little place."[2] General Von Specht, upon asking for the privilege of fowling, was specifically complimented by Heath for "your civil and polite behavior since you have been at Cambridge";[3] and the following epistle is probably only a sample of many others:

Cambridge, May 14, 1778.

Sir.

Major Hopkins, Dept. Quar. Mast'r General, has informed me, that you intended doing me the Honor of a visit at Cambridge. Give me leave to assure you that I shall be very happy in seeing you at my House, and beg that you will favor me with your Company at dinner, on any Day which you will be so good as to fix.

I have the Honor to be with Esteem
Sir,
Your most obed't
humble Serv't
RIEDESEL.

The Hon'ble MAJ. GEN'L HEATH, Boston.[4]

With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. The Hessians had, on the whole, very considerate treatment. Madame Riedesel frequently speaks of the kindness of her guards. "We lived very happily and contented in Cambridge," says she, "and were therefore well pleased at the idea of remaining there during the captivity of our troops."[5] Her quarters were the social center for the German officers. There they gave dances[6] and suppers, made the perilous but successful experiment of a dinner on the king's birthday, and even held an illumination that aroused dire suspicions among their captors, who scented a horrid conspiracy in the smoke of their innocent candles. Their men amused themselves with an extraordinary collection of pets, from squirrels to bears, which they had accumulated

[1] Mrs. Winthrop to Mrs. Warren. Nov. 11, 1777.

[2] *Ein kleiner, freundlicher Ort.* Eelking, *Deutschen Hülfstruppen*, i, 335.

[3] Sept. 10, 1778. Heath, *Memoirs* (ed. 1901), 178.

[4] From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.— Quoted in *Hadden's Journal*, 353.

[5] *Letters and Journals* (ed. Stone), 143.

[6] The Germans were characteristically well supplied with music. Each regiment had its band, in some cases of considerable size. In the return for June 1, 1777, the Grenadier Battalion, for example, with 452 privates, had 20 musicians — and the 19 officers had 28 servants! Stone, *Memoirs of Riedesel*, i, 102.

on their marches — the only things, observes a chronicler, that they had been able to capture in America.[1]

The mercenaries indeed form the happiest and most fortunate group in our picture. They were living, as an eminent historian observes, in a sort of financial paradise. They had no desire to fight either for or against King George so long as they could draw his money. Without being harassed by drills, or fatigued by marches, or exposed as a mark for bullets, they were earning four times the regimental pay that they would have received in their own fatherland; and those of them who practiced handicrafts were permitted to go round the neighborhood, working for the exceptionally high wages which skilled labor commanded in the United States.[2]

The tedium of the winter nevertheless was nearly insupportable for British and Hessians alike, fresh from the activities of a campaign which among all its failings had certainly never lacked excitement. The one professional occupation that remained to the commanders was the care of their men. Although between officers and private soldiers there was then fixed a gulf the greatness of which is now incomprehensible, yet the former — eagerly following the noble example of their general — showed a solicitude for the latter that throws an odd gleam of paternal tenderness into that atmosphere of pipe-clay and the "cat." They constantly visited the wretched barracks and personally assisted in strengthening and weatherproofing them. They supplied the men with money under the pretence of buying the poor fellows' rags of old clothes and cast-off boots. They kept up regular drills, in which the surrendered arms were represented by stout sticks; and on holidays and accustomed anniversaries they turned out the whole motley crew for a pathetic parody of dress parade.

The lack of proper raiment, by the way, was one of the most obvious hardships suffered by the prisoners. The English regiments, by established usage, were clothed at the expense of their commanders, who by this time owed them two suits of uniform.[3] Plenty of warm things had been stored in Canada, and great efforts were made to get them sent forward; but much anxious correspondence (still on file) shows that as late as August, 1778, the "clothing ships" were still at Quebec; and the next month "all idea of receiving the baggage or

[1] W. L. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 254.
[2] Trevelyan, *American Revolution*, Part III, p. 206.
[3] Stone, *Memoir of Riedesel*, ii, 186.

clothing from Canada must be given up."[1] In consequence, the most grotesque devices had to be resorted to in order to escape actual nakedness. Riedesel mentions the ingenious expedient of cutting off the men's coat tails with which to repair what thus became their jackets.

The Germans were in like evil case. "The soldier has now worn his regimentals more than three years," lamented Cleve, "on shipboard, in the forests, and during a winter in barracks. The officers have taken out of Canada nothing but their most necessary and worst clothes, and sigh for new."[2] In September of 1778 General de Gall returned a list of "men who have had no clothing *for four years*." In spite of such handicaps, the officers did their best to keep up the morale by holding rigorous inspections, "and the old patched clothes were examined just as sharply as the spruce uniforms used to be at a grand-ducal parade in the home garrison." But with all these efforts for cleanliness, the Hessians were hopelessly dirty. "Such effluvia filled the air while they were passing," wrote Mrs. Winthrop on their first arrival, "that had they not been smoking all the time, I should have been apprehensive of being contaminated."[3]

However, "towards the end of January a transport arrived from New York with cloth breeches and some other necessities for the troops. The old regimentals had been hitherto scarcely made to hold together even with the most outrageous patches; so that the men were not a little heartened up at being able to appear more prosperous, as well as to better withstand the extraordinary cold of the winter."[4] For the New England climate was a revelation to these Europeans. "The Canadian winter is golden compared to this!" exclaims poor Cleve; while some unfortunates who had been interned at Rutland nicknamed the place "Siberia."

Thus passed a heavy year in the history of the old Vassall house. Never had it sheltered more hopeless hearts. Its occupants were strangers in a strange land, the remnants of an enormous and epochal failure, a prey to chagrin and half dead with ennui, waiting, ever waiting for the transports that never came and the exchanges that were never negotiated.

[1] Phillips to Hamilton. Cambridge, Sept. 14, 1778. Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on American MSS.*, i, 290.

[2] Letter of March 18, 1778. Schlözer, *Briefwechsel*, iv, 386.

[3] Ellett, *Women of the Revolution*, i, 97.— Cf. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 254.

[4] Eelking, *Deutschen Hülfstruppen*, i, 339.

Moreover, they were shamelessly exploited by their greedy guards. The exorbitant house rent extorted from Burgoyne himself[1] was only one example of the tribute levied on the unwilling sojourners in Cambridge. Heath bewailed the fact that the Yankee traders were unable to resist "the bewitching allurements of gain and the expectation of catching hard money."[2] For the strangers, it must be remembered, were paying for everything in gold, then considerably scarcer than diamonds. Farmers, householders, shopkeepers, craftsmen, soldiers, and politicians all joined the mad scramble to spoil these Egyptians. "Exaction is added to scarcity at Cambridge," wrote Burgoyne, "and every article of life is at an unprecedented price."[3] "All food and necessities were terribly dear, costing often four times more than at other nearby places. The guinea, which had been fixed by Congress at 28 shillings, was given in exchange for 90, in paper money. . . . This not insignificant profit went into the pocket of the Commissary and (it was whispered) of the Governor of Boston."[4] As to "everything which only remotely resembles luxuries, . . . it is unbelievable what profit the tradesmen in America make on their wares — double at the least. If I buy anything at fourth hand, i. e. at the fourth remove," complains Cleve, "I can figure that I have had to pay almost sixteen times more for it than it cost at first hand in Boston."[5]

What wonder that, heartsick and idle, the Englishmen fell back on the time-honored distractions of garrison existence? "The British officers," declared Mrs. Winthrop, "live in the most luxurious manner possible, rioting on the fat of the land."[6] Loud complaints were raised at their revels — styled "a most enormous abuse" — in Bradish's tavern on Christmas, a festival unrecognized by their Puritan captors.[7] Not for nothing, we may suspect, did the staff include an "Assistant Commissary of Beer," and a "Deputy Assistant Commissary of Beer." Special stipulations, too, had been made in the original rules for the camp "that the officers should be supplied

[1] See p. 30 *ante*.

[2] To the General Assembly. Headquarters, Boston, Dec. 5, 1777. Mass. Archives, 216/126.

[3] To Howe. Rhode Island, Apr. 9, 1778. *Parliamentary Register*, xii, Appendix, p. lxxviii.

[4] Eelking, *Deutschen Hülfstruppen*, i, 338. A paper dollar was then worth thirty cents.

[5] Letter of Dec. 30, 1777. Schlözer, *Briefwechsel*, iv, 379.

[6] To Mrs. Warren. February, 1778. Ellet, *Women of the Revolution*, i, 100.

[7] Heath, *Memoirs* (ed. 1901), 141.

with liquors at the market price." Horrid traditions linger yet of the Britons' carousals in the great dining room of the Vassall house; though the legend that during a particularly lively evening they pricked a negro boy to death with their swords may probably be disposed of *via* the underground passage that was long reported to extend from the cellar to some mysterious destination.[1]

A favorite amusement of a milder type was tenpins, on which the Germans, in particular, gambled inordinately.[2] It is not unlikely that the practiced ingenuity of Captain Adams provided for his guests and their friends a form of dissipation then almost unheard of, and so scandalous as to be made the subject of a general order from Boston. On the information "that some of the Officers of the Convention have set up a billiard table in an house near the centre of the town of Cambridge, and that company is frequently there at very unseasonable hours, to the disquietude and uneasiness of the inhabitants.... All officers of the Convention are to be at their quarters, and not to be abroad after nine o'clock in the evening." [3]

In spite of this salutary rule, certain of the more adventurous spirits, making to themselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, indulged in unlawful nocturnal excursions under the guidance of such venal natives as were willing, for a due consideration, to "show them the town." In the middle of January Heath reported to the Council that three British officers had been smuggled into Boston the previous evening by "one [Jeremiah] Snow, a tavern keeper" of Cambridge. Nothing seems to have happened to the officers in consequence, but their hapless conductor was haled before the Council for a severe reprimand, in the mean time being actually cast into "the common gaol." [4]

Heading in the opposite direction, many officers foregathered at Richardson's tavern in Watertown, famous for its cockpit.[5] A deal of "chicken fighting" was indulged in here, and the neighborhood was scoured for good gamecocks. The reply of one poor old woman who

[1] *Historic Guide to Cambridge*, 98.— Cambridge Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, x, 14, 73, *note*. The yarn doubtless originated in the lurid imagination of the old negro "Tony." It certainly hints, nevertheless, at the presence of some slaves still faithful to the place.

[2] Stone, *Memoir of Riedesel*, ii, 17.

[3] Jan. 28, 1778. *Parliamentary Register*, xii, Appendix, p. xlvii.

[4] Mass. Archives, 168/147 *et seq.* For Snow's tavern, cf. p. 22 *ante*.

[5] This hostelry was at the junction of the present Mt. Auburn Street and Belmont Street. The cockpit is said to have been the curious semicircular depression close by, now better known to fame as the "Norsemen's amphitheatre."

was asked to sell a couple of promising birds shows that there was as much spirit in the human as in the feathered bipeds: "I swear now you shall have neither of them; I swear now I never saw anything so bloodthirsty as you Britonians be; if you can't be fighting and cutting other people's throats, you must be setting two harmless creatures to kill one another. Go along, go!" [1]

On the whole, then, we may agree in substance with the indignant Mrs. Warren, who declares: "This idle and dissipated army lay too long in the neighborhood of Boston for the advantage of either side. While there in durance, they disseminated their manners, they corrupted the students of Harvard College, and the youth of the capital and its environs, who were allured to enter into their gambling parties and other scenes of licentiousness." [2]

The efforts of the authorities to protect their young people from these demoralizing influences sometimes took a pretty stringent form. Captain Cleve notes in his diary letter:

> General Burgoyne, and also General Phillips, gave a ball to which they invited some ladies from Boston as well as from this neighborhood. Whereupon all the Committees issued a prohibitory order to the effect that no one was to be bold enough to appear there. So, of those invited, only two daughters of General Schuyler, one of whom is married to a Mr. Carter, dared disregard the prohibition on both occasions, and accept the invitation. Since General Schuyler had himself given General von Riedesel his daughters' address, the Boston Committee said nothing against their being present.[3]

Although the attempts of the British officers to "break into society" in Cambridge were thus sternly repressed, very little objection seems to have been made to the characteristic social instincts of the Germans, who, as already noted, were regarded with more favor. The dances and entertainments at Madame Riedesel's have been alluded to above; nor did the officers lack for partners. "There are quantities of pretty girls here," observes a gallant Brunswicker, "who on all questions of the war are wholly neutral, and govern themselves entirely by the *Jus Naturae*."

The more serious-minded betook themselves to reading, that blessed solace of all captives. A surprisingly modern note is sounded in their demand for newspapers, magazines, and books. Pigot wrote

[1] S. A. Drake, *Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex*, 345.
[2] *History of the American Revolution*, ii, 45.
[3] Letter of Dec. 18, 1777. Schlözer, *Briefwechsel*, iv, 377.

to Burgoyne from Newport that in answer to the latter's request he had sent all the old papers and pamphlets he could lay hands on.[1]

Death and Burial of Lieutenant Brown

So winter wore into spring, beguiled for the most part by the pleasures of the table, the dice, and the bottle. Burgoyne himself was permitted to return to England, suffering (appropriately enough) from gout in the stomach, and Phillips took his place. And now occurred a melancholy incident, destined again to link the name of Henry Vassall with this regrettable chapter of Cambridge history. Hospitable even in death, the Colonel, whose spirit (we may fancy) had welcomed the King's officers to his mansion, was now to share with one of them the narrow limits of his tomb.

On June 17, 1778, Richard Brown, second lieutenant of the Twenty-first Regiment of the Line, in a chaise with two young women from Boston, driving at a fast pace down Prospect Hill, was challenged by the Continental sentry at its foot. Apparently having some trouble with his horse, Brown made a gesture which the guard took for a threat or an insult, raised his musket, and shot the officer dead.

This tragic accident caused universal excitement. To the British at least it seemed the culmination of a long series of injuries and persecutions, some of which had already caused stormy courts-martial. General Phillips determined to make the funeral a public function. He bitterly informed Heath that "if the body of the murdered officer is to be allowed Christian burial, I would wish to deposit it in the vault appropriated for strangers, in the Protestant church at Cambridge." (The Vassall tomb being the only one beneath Christ Church, the reference is unmistakable, in spite of the slip in the description.) To this Heath, who was greatly concerned at the *contretemps*, immediately consented, and added, "I have also given orders that decency be exhibited by our troops during the time of procession of interment . . . and from the universal respectful behaviour of the people of this country on such occasions, you may be sure that not the least insult will be offered."[2] Despite his confident words, he was not above taking precautions on that score. "The funeral party was joined by the German officers and by several important Ameri-

[1] Jan. 13, 1778. Public Record Office, London; Colonial Office, Class 5, vol. 179, p. 349.
[2] Heath, *Memoirs* (ed. 1901), 156, 157.

cans," says Eelking; "but we could not determine whether the latter really wished to show their sympathy or whether their presence was to restrain the exasperated mob, since it was feared the latter might disturb the solemnities." [1]

The event proved that the American commander had put too much confidence in the self-control of the Cantabrigians, irritated out of all bounds of academic courtesy. "The remains of poor Brown," wrote one of his fellows, "were interred in the church at Cambridge; all the officers at Cambridge and the environs attended — a most mournful sight! . . . I cannot pass over the littleness of mind, and the pitiful resentment of the Americans, in a very trifling circumstance; during the time the service was performing over the body, the Americans seized the opportunity of the church being open, which had been shut since the commencement of hostilities, to plunder, ransack and deface every thing they could lay their hands on, destroying the pulpit, reading-desk and communion-table, and ascending the organ-loft, destroyed the bellows and broke all the pipes of a very handsome instrument." [2] This impious desecration must have occurred after the service in the body of the church was over, and the *cortège* had retired to the tomb in the cellar for the actual interment. Phillips's original request was that the funeral should take place "on the evening" of the 19th, probably meaning at sunset, a common time for such ceremonies. Thus the dastardly work of the populace was done, suitably enough, under cover of darkness.

This miserable exhibition of spite by the inhabitants of Cambridge was but one of the numerous unhappy circumstances which seemed to conspire to make the ill-starred affair as notorious as possible. "The centinel who shot him," adds Anburey, "was a little boy scarce fourteen" — an interesting commentary on the make-up of the Continental militia at that stage of the war.[3] Immediately after his act, "the prisoners who were near, seized the sentry and dragged him by the heels up the hill, which tore his face considerably, and otherwise much abused him, before he was released by the picquet. The Adjutant of the same regiment, on hearing the affair, and being on

[1] Eelking, *Deutschen Hülfstruppen*, i, 349.

[2] Anburey, *Travels through America*, ii, 233. The organ had been presented in 1764 by Barlow Trecothick, Lord Mayor of London.

[3] Heath very early complained of the difficulties he should encounter because "by the drafted Men's hiring others to do their duty a number of Lads and old Men will be returned" in the regiments called out to act as guards. To Council. Nov. 4, 1777. Mass. Archives, 198/274.

horseback, set off furiously, and just before he got to the place, his horse stumbling pitched him off, and broke his collar bone." [1] General Phillips, for his insolent letters to Heath on the matter, was confined to his house for the rest of his stay in town, a proceeding of which Congress officially approved July 7, 1778. Meantime the unfortunate sentry was court-martialed and acquitted, in spite of the bitterest protests from all the ranking British officers.

By another of fortune's ironies therefore Henry Vassall, who, as chairman of the building committee, had done so much to secure the beautiful furnishings of Christ Church, became the underlying cause of their fanatical demolition.[2]

Burgoyne's Fatal Letter

The reader who has perused the foregoing pages has seen how the article of the Convention regarding quarters, reasonable and easy as it first seemed, was converted by the venomous meanness of the Cambridge folk into a formidable stumbling-block and rock of offence. The treatment of the officers, from the lieutenant-general to the youngest ensign, was not only a breach of the letter of the Convention, but was a gross violation of the spirit and intent breathed in every line of that document, as well as of the protocol which preceded it and the parole which followed it — the intent that since the officers were not only soldiers but gentlemen they were to be used as such. And that they were properly cared for the Americans never even pretended: the most prejudiced partizans of the patriot cause, such as the Congressional committee, could do no more than make excuses. With the possible exception of the Harvard Corporation, everyone tacitly or openly admitted the truth.

In other words, when Burgoyne wrote to Gates that *as long as* things continued as they then were, "the public faith was broke," [3] he was but putting into plain language what all parties had been

[1] Almon, *Remembrancer*, vi, 346.

[2] There seems no doubt whatever that Brown lies today in the Vassall tomb. Baron Riedesel speaks of him as being "buried with all military honors and entombed in the church at Cambridge," where the Colonel's vault, as already stated, is the only one that ever existed. Phillips's reference to it as appropriated to strangers was evidently due to imperfect information, or to the hurry and excitement of the moment. When the vault was last examined, a coffin was found containing the bones of an unidentified man over forty-five years of age, the lower limbs covered thickly with hay, indicating transportation. See Cambridge Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, x, 78.

[3] See *ante*, p. 30.

unmistakably hinting at from the beginning (as shown in the passages italicized in the foregoing quotations), and what Heath continued to harp on until the very end. He was stating a fact.

Also let it be observed that the unhappy phrase occurred in a letter to the officer who had drawn up and signed the Convention, and who would naturally have a prime interest in knowing how it was being observed — to the officer, moreover, who had treated the writer with every courtesy and entertained him honorably at his own table. The letter, in short, was in the nature of a confidential communication between friends, not of an official protest. If *that* were intended, Gates, who had nothing to do whatever with the management of the prisoners, was certainly not the man to address. Burgoyne himself considered the letter so informal that he did not even keep a copy of it.[1]

The correctness of this view is corroborated by the circumstance that Burgoyne did prepare an official protest, very properly addressed to the highest military authority, and with the sanction (or at any rate the knowledge) of Heath himself. The latter, however, for his own reputation and for the good name of Massachusetts, begged the indignant Englishman to delay action in despatching it. "General Burgoyne," he informed the Council on Nov. 18, "the last Saturday [Nov. 15] demanded a passport for an officer to proceed to His Excellency General Washington and to Congress to represent to them that the Convention was broken as to Quarters. I granted his request, but desired him to defer sending until this day, by which time I was in hopes proper Quarters would be provided. He will I suppose this afternoon pursue his Resolution of sending his Express."[2] Nevertheless, Heath seems to have managed to appease the commander with fresh promises (which were again nullified by the imbecility of the Cantabrigians), so that the protest was never sent. Instead, he himself wrote to Washington as soon as he had got Burgoyne safely housed, alluding guardedly to the situation and putting as good a face upon it as he could. "We are not a little Embarrassed in obtaining Quarters for the officers, who frequently inform us that they are to be Quartered according to rank.— General Burgoyne is in Mr. Borland's House Formerly General Putnam's Quarters, and the other principal officers in the Town of Cambridge."[3] This was as much as

[1] *Parliamentary Register*, xi, 211.
[2] Mass. Archives, 198/296.— Draft in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 44.
[3] Nov. 21, 1777. Draft in Mass. Hist. Soc., Heath MSS., vii, 54.

he could creditably say; as to the junior officers he made no specifications whatever.

Such, then, was the essentially personal nature of Burgoyne's remark to Gates. But Gates, who was at heart a sneak, soon took the opportunity of currying favor by communicating the letter to Congress. And before we can understand its effect there we must appreciate the temper that body was in when it arrived.

For the little group of jobbers and politicians at Philadelphia who at this date unfortunately constituted the only central authority of the new government were frothing at the mouth, so to speak, over the whole business of the Saratoga Convention. None realized more bitterly than they that although Burgoyne, by the inconceivable incompetence of his superiors at home, had been marched into a death trap where it was a perfectly simple matter to dispose of him once and for all, yet by his own firmness and spirit, and by the weakness of Gates, he had managed to emerge from that trap not only with most of his officers and men intact but with the astonishing guarantee that they should all be transported safe home to England. And although he guaranteed on his side that none of them should again take part in the war, yet since as soon as they got home they would release an equal number of effectives from garrison duty to be placed in the American field, Gates's whole campaign, so far as the prime object of reducing the enemy's man power went, was patently a flat failure.

The whole effort of Congress therefore was bent upon some method of invalidating the Convention which had produced such a fiasco. As Trevelyan [1] points out, there were two ways of doing this. By the first, the legislators, as the supreme power of the state, might have repudiated the whole treaty as contrary to public interest, throwing over Gates and declaring he had no right to make such a preposterous promise. But Gates was their spoiled darling, and rather than repudiate him they would gladly have repudiated Washington himself — as they several times came very near to doing. They preferred therefore the second and ignobler way, to lie in wait like a parcel of pettifogging lawyers and watch their chance to pick some flaw in the performance of the contract whereby they might declare it had been violated and need no longer be observed. But so far it had been extremely hard for them to show a breach on the

[1] *American Revolution*, Part III, p. 203.

Englishmen's side. They were trying to make something out of the circumstance that the prisoners had not surrendered their side arms, or furnished descriptive lists of the rank and file — neither of which had been required by the Convention — when blind chance, that favors the knave quite as often as the just man, suddenly put into their hands the very excuse they were looking for.

Pouncing upon Burgoyne's phrase, stripping it of every qualifying clause, and ignoring the fact that it was a private protest against the conduct of their own side, they gleefully drew the monstrous inference that the British commander had publicly announced he should no longer consider himself bound by the compact.[1] That document, in consequence, they announced that they should in turn disregard on their side, particularly the promise (the backbone of the whole) to allow the troops to return to England.[2]

The politicians' point was gained. In vain Burgoyne protested that he meant nothing of the kind, that he was only entering an objection, in hopes "to see the complaint redressed." In vain he pointed out that he and his officers, by signing the parole *after* the date of his ill-starred letter to Gates, showed that they still considered the Convention as binding.[3] Their behavior, too, upon receipt of the news from Philadelphia, was obvious evidence to the same effect. They were completely taken aback by this unexpected collapse of all their anticipations, and could not conceal their anxiety as to their fate. "General Burgoyne and his officers," reported Heath, "appear much disappointed, and exhibit an appearance rather of concern and uneasiness than of sulkiness or resentment, and endeavour to palliate their former expressions and conduct."[4] But all would not answer. An unconsidered word had undone everything that the Briton's resolute diplomacy had gained; and from that time forward (thanks

[1] "It is a strong indication of his intentions, and affords just grounds of fear, that he will avail himself of such pretended breach of the convention, in order to disengage himself and the army under him, of the obligation they are under to these United States, and that the security which these states have had in his personal honour is hereby destroyed." From the vote of Congress, Jan. 8, 1778.

[2] "Our situation daily grows worse. . . . The Americans are declaring openly even now that they should not be bound by the terms of the Convention. They would like to saddle the whole thing on us, but in a manner most unfair — as though *we* had violated the terms." Letter of Capt. Cleve, Feb. 5, 1778. Schlözer, *Briefwechsel*, iv, 384.

[3] Burgoyne to President of Congress. Cambridge, Feb. 11, 1778. *Parliamentary Register*, xi, 211, 212. See note, p. 55 *ante*.

[4] To President of Congress. Boston, Feb. 7, 1778. Trevelyan, *American Revolution*, Part III, p. 205, *note*.

to the churlishness of the Cambridge men) the Convention of Saratoga, for its intended purposes, ceased to exist.

A new problem, however, now preyed on the congressional mind. By virtue of the unusual stipulations of the Convention, the troops which had surrendered to Gates were not to be regarded as ordinary prisoners of war to be maintained at public expense, but as travellers bound for England, and hence, like all travellers, paying their own way. To declare the compact utterly at an end, therefore, would not only cut off the precious stream of gold that they were dispensing in a country almost ruined by depreciated paper, but would also force the Americans to the enormous cost of subsisting, like any other prisoners, their entire army. Burgoyne's whole force would be turned from a valuable asset into a heavy liability. Hence, to postpone killing the goose that laid such golden eggs, the unscrupulous schemers at Philadelphia hit on the plan of declaring the Convention not absolutely void, but "suspended" until "a distinct and explicit ratification" of its terms "shall be properly notified by the Court of Great Britain to Congress." (The ratification, it will be noticed, was to be all on one side!) The treaty in short was not to be really binding, but only just binding enough to give the patriots its benefits without its responsibilities.

The phraseology of this vote, passed January 8, 1778, showed an ingenuity worthy of Machiavelli himself. For it was obvious that the British government could not negotiate directly with Congress without virtually recognizing the insurgents as an independent nation.[1] Yet so besotted were the plotters that no sooner had they passed their resolve than they were seized with panic lest a ratification might somehow actually take place. In that case there would be nothing for it but to allow these doubly valuable troops to go home after all, to the military profit of England and the financial loss of America. They therefore not only took good care not to notify Downing Street of their action, but even tried to prevent definite word of it from leaking out at all. "Good policy," wrote the president of Congress to Heath on Jan. 14, 1778, "dictates that we should keep the Court of Great Britain from a knowledge founded on authentick accounts of the Act of Congress of the 8th as long as we can fairly do so." [2] They

[1] Phillips at first refused to pay bills rendered in the name of "The United States of America."

[2] Heath Letters. MSS. Library of Congress.

thus put themselves in the preposterous position of one who makes a demand on his adversary and at the same time endeavors to keep him in ignorance of it — of an intrepid David defying his Goliath in a whisper carefully calculated not to reach him.

Acting on this honorable and dignified principle they actually kept the news from Heath himself for almost a month; [1] and following their instructions the American general was obliged to refuse Burgoyne "the liberty of sending it to Gen[l] Howe till I had certified Congress I had delivered it to himself." [2] But from such a nightmare of inconsistency they were soon awakened. The enterprising printer of the *Boston Gazette* scored a magnificent "scoop" by getting hold of the whole proceedings, and publishing them (much to Heath's mortification) as the "front page feature" in his issue of Feb. 16 — an early instance of "shirtsleeves diplomacy" in the American press.

The politicians might have spared themselves their trepidation as to a possible ratification of the Convention of Saratoga. That extraordinary suggestion, at length circuitously received by the home government, was of course officially ignored. The English commanders, more astute in such matters than the Yankees, foresaw the result from the first. "General Burgoyne and his officers," wrote Heath to Laurens on Feb. 19, 1778, "express themselves with much modesty under their detention; But General Phillips observed to me the day before yesterday that Great Britain would never ratify the Convention; That as it was made between General Gates and General Burgoyne, and neither the United States nor Great Britain mentioned, the Ministry would have nothing to do with it."

Nevertheless, short of committing such a capital error in diplomacy as would have been involved by formal ratification, Downing Street did everything it could to comply with the terms of Congress and get the captives home again. The royal commissioners on conciliation, sent over in the summer of that year, offered a ratification signed by themselves; but Congress quite naturally, though rather intricately, resolved "that no ratification which may be tendered in consequence

[1] "1778, Feb. 3. This Day received per Express [!] a resolve of Congress directing that the Embarkation of Gen[l] Burgoyne & his Troops be deferred untill the Court of Great Britain shall ratify the Convention." Heath's MS. Journal, Mass. Hist. Soc.

[2] Heath to Laurens, Feb. 19, 1778. Heath Letters, *ubi supra*. So long and so successfully was the news concealed from the British headquarters at Newport, that Burgoyne had the exquisite disappointment of hearing, *two months* after the action of Congress, that the transports had actually arrived in Massachusetts Bay, and an officer had come ashore to ask where the troops were to embark!

of powers which only reach that case by construction and implication, or which may subject whatever is transacted relative to it to the future approbation or disapprobation of the parliament of Great Britain, can be accepted by Congress." [1]

On the failure of such civilian advances, a strictly military method of approach was tried. Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander in chief, wrote to Washington, offering "by express and recent Authority from the King, received since the Date of the late Requisition made by His Majesty's Commissioners, to renew in his Majesty's Name all the Conditions stipulated by Lieut. General Burgoyne in Respect to the Troops serving under his Command." [2] This proposal, duly transmitted by Washington, came so alarmingly near fulfilling the original terms that the congressional ranks were thrown into consternation. Unable in their agitation to formulate any properly diplomatic reply, they fell back on mere bluster, and with incredible boorishness informed Clinton "that the Congress makes no answer to insolent letters," [3] or in brief told him to shut up. Having thus unmistakably shown their hand, the politicians might well flatter themselves that in the date of ratification they had devised an ingenious substitute for the Greek calends.

Why the Prisoners Left Cambridge

We have seen that long before this time the Americans had come to look upon the Convention Troops as a standing source of cash — a sort of private mint. Early in January, to be sure, when Heath, having advanced his last dollar in feeding and warming his prisoners, had called on Burgoyne for a payment on account,[4] the Englishman had proffered him the depreciated Continental bills, suavely observing that an American would hardly refuse his own currency! Heath however had been able to point to a resolve of Congress that all debts of the troops should be discharged in provisions or coin. Burgoyne had been a good deal disconcerted by this.[5] While willing to replace

[1] *Journals*, Sept. 4, 1778.

[2] New York, Sept. 19, 1778. Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on American MSS.*, I, 298.

[3] Secretary Thompson to Clinton. Philadelphia, Sept. 28, 1778. Stevens's *Facsimiles*, etc., No. 1168.

[4] Though Heath was desperately short of cash, he was too shrewd to admit his total poverty to Burgoyne, merely stating that the appropriation *for the Convention Troops* was temporarily exhausted. Heath to Laurens, Jan. 6, 1778.

[5] Clarke, his commissary, had so far lost his temper as to declare "that demanding hard

some of the beef and flour, if practicable, from the British headquarters at Newport, "he cannot yet well digest the payment in solid coin, alledging that every hard dollar will fetch him three of paper currency," as Heath reported to Laurens. Nevertheless, after correspondence with Howe and his paymaster Pigot, Burgoyne had yielded the point, and the rebels had the gratification of receiving almost unlimited specie payments.

Their satisfaction might have been less had they known the Englishmen's motives, based on economic laws which their adversaries understood much better than they did. For the British commanders realized that every additional golden sovereign they put into circulation depreciated still further the value of the ceaseless emissions of Yankee paper dollars. As Pigot put it, "It would be better to pay hard Money when you conveniently can than send Provisions to Boston, for that will be immediately carted away to General Washington's Army, who stand in great Need of Salt Provisions, whereas the hard Money coming amongst them depreciates greatly their Paper." [1] Heath, with his characteristic sound sense, soon detected and protested against this financial stratagem, the Massachusetts Council early tried to block it, and Washington was sadly perturbed at it; but the fatuous congressmen had no inkling of the economics of the situation, and the more hard money that came their way the better they were pleased.[2]

From another point of view, too, this payment in coin proved more of a hindrance than a help to the Americans. Everybody wanted it at once. By the resolve of Congress, all specie received by Heath was to be "immediately transmitted to the Treasury." But as Heath bluntly enquired, what good did that do him? If the money was to go elsewhere, how was he to continue to subsist the prisoners? They were costing him $20,000 a week for food and fuel alone. His own supply of paper currency was exhausted. He had borrowed every dollar he could find in private hands. Finally he was forced to appeal to the Massachusetts Assembly for help, although fully aware of the impolitic nature of such a transaction. His letters to Congress

money was so extraordinary that he imagined Great Britain would not hesitate at paying £30,000 stg. to publish such a proceeding to the World." Same to same, Jan. 18, 1778. Heath Letters, MSS. Library of Congress.

[1] Pigot to Howe. Newport, Apr. 10, 1778. Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on American MSS.*, i, 229.

[2] Fiske, *American Revolution*, i, 341.

during this period are full of the annoyance and perplexity he suffered from that body's greedy determination to get the coveted gold into its own hands.

Nevertheless, the gold was paid, and paid in incredible amounts. When Burgoyne, sick in body and in heart, was permitted to sail from Newport for home, in April, 1778, a general settlement of accounts to that date was made a condition precedent to his departure; and the enormous sum of twenty-seven thousand pounds "in solid coin" (equivalent to three hundred thousand dollars of the depreciated paper) was counted out in a single transaction to the Continental commissary. At the same time, twenty thousand pounds more was supplied the British paymaster for further expenses of the prisoners.[1] And this too vanished like dew before the sun.

On, therefore, for the whole weary summer went the exorbitant charges, and on went the protesting payments, in the desperate hope that the Convention would yet be somehow acknowledged and fulfilled. Clinton, having succeeded Howe as British commander in chief, continued to drain his military chest to supply the needs of his captive brothers in arms so impatiently tarrying at Cambridge. At length confidence began to weaken. "Should the ratification of the Convention so eagerly awaited be prevented," confessed Phillips to Clinton on August 27, "precautions should be taken for the convenience and safety of the men." [2] Finally it became plain that the public faith was indeed broken — by Congress — that the prisoners were to remain prisoners indefinitely, and that nothing was to be gained by keeping up the fiction that they were paying their own way as passengers bound for England.

Realizing, then, that hope was at an end, especially after the insult-

[1] Pigot to Howe. Newport, April 10, 1778. *Report on American MSS.*, i, 229. These payments, added to the £10,000 liquidated by Phillips (see p. 79 *post*), amount to £57,000 stg. Assuming that there were other payments I have not traced, and counting in the sums extorted directly from the officers at Cambridge, the grand total was probably considerably larger.

What the rebels did with all this ill-gotten store of precious metal is something of a mystery. Undoubtedly the greater part, following the invariable rule when specie is at a premium, was immediately "hoarded" and withdrawn from circulation. Certainly very little of it seems to have reached the Treasury. At least, for the year 1778 Congress admitted spending but $78,666 (about £7,000) in gold and silver received *from all sources*, as against the gigantic figure of over $62,000,000 in bills. Most of these specie payments were used in transactions with the enemy (where paper was of course useless), such as pay and expense money for spies, relief for American prisoners, etc. See Bolles, *Financial History of the U. S. from 1774 to 1789*, p. 69.

[2] *Report on American MSS.*, i, 283.

ing reply he had received from Congress,[1] Clinton changed his policy, and declined to be bled any longer. He ceased his remittances of gold to Cambridge. He also declined to furnish provisions, throwing the burden of subsisting their prisoners upon the Americans, to whom it now evidently belonged. The Convention Troops therefore could no longer look to their friends either for food or for money with which to buy it and the other necessaries of life. The officers began to find their pockets growing empty. By the anniversary of the Convention the financial crisis was acute. "I declare to you," wrote Phillips to Prescott on November 1, "that there is not Fifty Pounds among all the Troops under my Command." [2] Credit had consequently been strained to the breaking point. As one of the officers exclaimed, "We are all drowned in debt to the inhabitants."

This was indeed a turn in the tide of affairs. Burgoyne's army, so to speak, had ceased to pay dividends. The politicians had overreached themselves. Had they been clever enough to temporize with Clinton's offer they might have continued for months to jingle fresh British gold in their pockets, but now the fat was in the fire with a vengeance. The Convention Troops were assuming the unwelcome status of ordinary prisoners in fact as well as in name, and something must be done about it. Indeed the approach of such an eventuality had been foreseen for some time, and during the summer one or two of the regiments had been hustled out to Rutland, Mass., on the excuse that they would be safer there, but really because it cost less to maintain them in the back country. The same procedure, and for the same reasons (true and pretended), was now decided upon for the whole force, but in a far more aggravated form.[3] On Oct. 15 Congress resolved that the entire body of Convention Troops should be marched seven hundred miles southward to the little hamlet of Charlottesville, Virginia, the cheapest, *warmest*, and most inaccessible habitat that could be found for them.

To the officers in particular this was a heavy blow. They had absolutely no ready money for the expenses of the march; in fact it seemed doubtful whether many of them would be allowed to march at all. For with the news of their intended departure the Cantabrigians,

[1] See p. 75 *ante*.

[2] Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on American MSS.*, i, 331.

[3] This step was hastened by the arrival of the French fleet in the beginning of September, for a long stay at Boston, thereby increasing the population (according to some estimates) by nearly 9,000, and causing a sharp advance in the already high cost of food, fuel, etc.

to whom they owed staggering sums, suddenly manifested a most uncomfortable solicitude for the safety of their persons. "Numbers of the officers have been arrested for the hire of their lodgings and other expenses," observed Phillips.[1] To add to their humiliations, the indignity of a fresh parole was forced upon them. Yet their soldierly spirit remained unbroken. "I sincerely wish it was in my power," reported Major Forster to Phillips, "to assist those Gentlemen, but that is out of my power, as I have only Five Guineas left, and in course if money does not arrive we shall be obliged to live on our Rations, and fare as our Fellow Soldiers, but this we shall not repine at." [2]

In the end, the pecuniary problem was solved by Phillips becoming personally responsible for the debts of his officers to the extent of £10,000, and by his remaining in Cambridge "in pawn," as he expressed it, until that amount could be forwarded to him by Clinton.

While the commanding officer thus continued at his quarters in the Borland house till the middle of December, the rest of the army set out for the southward in detachments during the second week of November, exactly one year from the time they had arrived in town. Our civic history is not concerned with the further misadventures and the gradual disintegration of that force, which had set forth so gallantly on one of the most promising and strategically perfect campaigns of the war. But we may well ask ourselves whether the course of the Revolution would not have been altered, and whether our national honor would not have been spared a dark blot, had Burgoyne and his officers received decent and humanitarian treatment in Cambridge.

[1] To Clinton. Cambridge, Nov. 15, 1778. Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on American MSS.*, i, 346.

[2] Rutland, Nov. 3, 1778. Idem, i, 334.

APPENDIX

PAROLE SIGNED BY THE CONVENTION TROOPS

(From the original at the Boston Public Library)

We whose Names are hereunto subscribed being under the restrictions of the Convention made on the sixteenth of October last between Lieutenant General Burgoyne and Major General Gates do promise and engage on our Word & Honor and on the Faith of Gentlemen to remain in the Quarters assigned us for our Residence in Cambridge, Watertown, Medford and Charlestown in the State of Massachusetts Bay, and at no time to exceed or pass the following Limits viz. Swans Shop at Charlestown neck, the Cambridge road up to the Cross way between M^{r}. Codmans House & Fort N°. 3. the said cross way out to the road by M^{r}. Inmans House taking in the Hospital Barracks, from thence a strait line to Cambridge Bridge, from thence the north brink of Charles river to Watertown Bridge, from thence the Boston road as far as the crotch of the way at Angers Corner, from Watertown Bridge up the road to the Northwest Corner of M^{r}. Remingtons House, and from Learneds Tavern the Cambridge road, on to the Common to the Menotomy road, up said road to Cooper Tavern taking in the Menotomy pond, but not to pass the Beach on the South, West, or north sides thereof, from Coopers Tavern down to the east end of Benjn Tufts House in Medford, and from Medford Bridge the Boston road to Swans Shop the first mentioned bounds. the intermediate roads are within the Parole, and the back yards of the respective Quarters to the distance of Eighty yards from them, during our continuance in this State, or until the Continental General Commanding in this State, His Excellency General Washington, or the Congress of the United States shall order otherwise; and that we will not directly or indirectly give any intelligence whatever to the Enemies of the United States, or do, or say anything in opposition to or in prejudice of the measures and proceedings of any Congress for the said States during our continuance here as aforesaid, or until we are duly exchanged or discharged; and that we will at all times duly obey and observe the Rules and Regulations already Established for the Government of the Troops in Quarters —

Given under our Hands at Cambridge in the State of Massachusetts Bay this Thirteenth Day of December, In the Year of Our LORD, 1777 —


CAMBRIDGE & VICINITY
IN REVOLUTIONARY TIMES
COMPILED TO SHOW
THE PAROLE LIMITS
OF BURGOYNE'S OFFICERS
1777
BY SAMUEL F. BATCHELDER — 1925
SCALE: 500 RODS = 1 INCH
ONE MILE
MEDFORD
MYSTIC POND
WHITMORE BROOK
MEETINGHOUSE BROOK
Fish House Lane
Old Cradock House (1680)
Royall
CUTTER'S BROOK
MENOTOMY
PART OF CAMBRIDGE
TOWN BROOK
Cooper's Tavern
WALNUT TREE HILL
TWO PENNY BROOK
WINTER BROOK
MYSTIC RIVER
MENOTOMY POND
Mill Ware Lane
MENOTOMY RIVER
Powder Magazine
Temple
WINTHROP CREEK
WINTER HILL
Wilson's Lane
LITTLE POND
LITTLE RIVER
THE GREAT SWAMP
? Snow's Tavern
PART OF CHARLESTOWN
PLOWED HILL
Penny Ferry
CHARLESTOWN NECK
Kent's or Charlestown Lane
PROSPECT HILL
Three Pole Lane
GALLOWS HILL
Old Cooper House (1657)
Piper's Tavern
Fort No. 3
Codman
COBBLE HILL
Mill Dam
Love Lane
FRESH POND
Vassall Lane
CAMBRIDGE
MILLER'S RIVER
LECHMERE'S POINT
Old Graves House (1632)
Sewall
COMMON
Hill
Miss Vassall
Christ Church
COLLEGES
CIDERMILL POND
Gerry's Lane
Oliver
SIMON'S HILL
Forland
Dana
BUTLER'S HILL
INMAN'S POND
Boardman
North Road
SHERMAN'S POND
SHALLOW POND
Stedman's Tavern
MEETINGHOUSE HILL
Richardson's Tavern
Burying Place
STONE'S HILL
Bank Lane
LITTLE NECK
Inman
The Great Dam
FLATS
Cambridge Road
Leonards Tavern
SODEN'S CREEK
PELHAM'S ISLAND
GOFFE'S COVE
GREAT NECK
Remington
WATERTOWN
Boston Road
CAPTAIN'S ISLAND
"Ft. Washington"
OYSTER BANKS
FLATS
CHANNEL OF CHARLES RIVER
CHARLES RIVER
Angier's Corner
S.F.B.
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GERRY'S LANDING AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD

By Mrs. S. M. Gozzaldi

Read 15 June, 1918

When we visit a city or country that is new to us, we try to find out what is of interest in the place, what famous people have lived there and what important events have happened there. I venture to think that Gerry's Landing, under the old name revived, is not well known to all of you, and so will try to bring to mind those who formerly lived here, whose homes are no more and who themselves have long vanished from these scenes.

Many of us can remember when our present surroundings looked very differently from these well-kept lawns and gardens, and when these two stately houses, where we are guests, were not thought of. All this bluff was rough pasture land. At its foot the Charles River pursued its winding way among marshes; it was tide water and at flood overflowed its banks, making a wide lake as far as Brighton. The eastern part of the bluff was called Simon's Hill; it has now been leveled, and on any summer's day the boys might have been seen there taking their first lessons in swimming.

All this part of Cambridge west of Sparks Street belonged to Watertown until the new boundary was made in 1754. Watertown was settled before Cambridge, and this especial tract of land where we are was set off to Sir Richard Saltonstall, who was one of the few among our earliest settlers who had the right to bear a title.

Sir Richard Saltonstall was Justice of Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Lord of the Manor of Ledsham, near Leeds. He was not one of the six who purchased Massachusetts Bay from the Plymouth Colony but soon became associated with them and is named in the charter granted by Charles I, March 4, 1629. He was chosen one of the Five Undertakers who were to go to America in October. On arriving at Salem he came here at once with Rev. John Phillips, and planted the church in Watertown. He was the first sub-

scriber to the Church Covenant. This first settlement was just a little west of this place.

Sir Richard brought with him his two daughters and three sons; his wife had died in England. They sailed on the *Arbella* March 22 from Southampton, and after many adventures arrived in New England on June 22, 1630. On July 28 he and Mr. Phillips were already in Watertown planting the church. A glimpse of the etiquette of the period is vouchsafed us when we learn that he and his family ate on shipboard at the same table with the Lady Arbella Johnson, sister of the Earl of Lincoln, her husband, Governors Winthrop and Dudley and their young people.

Sir Richard Saltonstall only remained in this country one year, and never took up the land granted him in Cambridge, now called Winthrop Square. He returned with his two daughters and one of his younger sons. He remained a proprietor at Watertown until about 1642 when his two sons, who then lived here, had become of age. In 1635 he sent over a barque of forty tons with twenty servants. He was always interested in anything pertaining to the prosperity of the colony and from his position in England was able to be of great service to it. He was made ambassador to Holland, and while he was there his portrait was painted by Rembrandt. I think a copy is owned by Harvard. A narrow path leading down to the river near here has always been called "Sir Richard's Way."[1]

The eldest son, Richard, was made a Freeman of Watertown May 21, 1631, he being then twenty-one years of age. He had left his studies at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in order to accompany his father to this country. He returned to England and is said to have studied law there. He married and came with his wife in 1635 to Ipswich. He was the ancestor of the large and well-known Saltonstall family. His son, Nathaniel, graduated from Harvard in 1659, married the daughter of Rev. John Ward, was judge and colonel and held many important offices at Haverhill where he settled. Sibley says this is the only family that sent eight generations of the name to Harvard.

Another son of Sir Richard, Henry, was probably the largest

[1] Apparently the same as the "Bank Lane" of provincial days. Within living memory the strip of gravel at the waterside was known as "Sir Richard's Beach."—Ed.

proprietor of Watertown. When he graduated at Harvard in 1642, he owned a farm here of three hundred acres and eighty acres of meadow land. He returned to England and went to Holland, took the degree of M.D. at Padua in 1649, and at Oxford in 1652. His older brother, Samuel, retained possession of his lands here until his death in 1696. Robert, another brother, lived here until his death, unmarried, in 1650. After the death of the last Saltonstall at the end of the seventeenth century, the land seems to have belonged to a number of small holders. Later part of it came into the hands of one of the new aristocracy, the rich West Indians whom we call Tories.

In 1746, after the death of his wife, Colonel John Vassall sold his house on Brattle Street to his younger brother, Henry Vassall, who was about to marry Penelope Royal of Medford, and bought fifty acres of land on this bluff. It is described in the deed as bounded north by the road to Watertown, south by Charles River, east by the marshes of Henry Vassall, and on the west by Cornelius Waldo and Stephen Coolidge. What the house he built here was like, we have no means of knowing, for neither stick nor stone of it has remained as far as I can tell. Here he came with his three small children, John, who built the Craigie House, and Elizabeth who married Thomas Oliver, who built Elmwood. To them he brought, as a stepmother, a young girl of eighteen, Lucy, daughter of Jonathan Baron, of Chelmsford. Her baby was born November 15, 1747, and twelve days later Colonel John Vassall died, leaving the house, grounds, the handsome furniture, pictures, library, etc., to his nineteen-year-old wife, who had to have a guardian, and a thousand pounds to his yet unchristened daughter.

The one summer that Mistress Lucy Vassall spent here as a bride there graduated at Harvard two brothers of good family, from Newport, Rhode Island, Benjamin and William Ellery. We can easily imagine that they were frequent guests in this house overlooking the river, and had many sociable parties here with the Henry Vassalls and other connections and friends. Two years after the death of Colonel John Vassall his widow married Benjamin, the elder brother, who six months earlier had been made the guardian of Baby Lucy, when he is described as "late of Newport, now of Cambridge." Their married life

was short; they had no child and three years later Mrs. Ellery died. William, the younger of the two brothers, became a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and was the husband of Ann Remington, ancestor of the Richard H. Dana family.

The Coolidge farm lies to the south of where we are, on the bank of the river. The first owner, John Coolidge, came from Cambridge, England in 1630; he was selectman of Watertown many times between 1636 and 1677, and was in great request for signing wills, taking inventories, and settling estates. He died in 1691 and his son inherited the farm; he married the only daughter of Roger Wellington. His descendants have occupied this holding until the present day, marrying into many noted families of Cambridge and Watertown; one married Samuel Locke, president of Harvard; another, Professor Edward Wigglesworth, whose daughter married Professor Stephen Sewall; and others married into the Apthorp and Bulfinch families. They have been through these centuries deacons, schoolmasters, workers at many trades, and husbandmen, Godfearing and respected in their generations, fighters in colonial and subsequent wars, good citizens.

At the easterly corner of Mount Auburn Street and Coolidge Avenue stood the house of Colonel Samuel Thatcher of Revolutionary fame. The land was granted to his great-grandfather in 1642, Deacon Samuel Thatcher, a person of importance, often chosen selectman, and representative at the General Court between 1665 and 1669. Colonel Thatcher was also Representative in the important years 1775–76–79, and from 1784 till 1786. He was a Minute Man, lieutenant-colonel of the Cambridge men at Lexington and Concord, and when Colonel Gardner was fatally wounded at Bunker Hill the command of the regiment devolved on him. He was selectman of Cambridge 1773–76, 1780–86, and on the committee to instruct the representatives in 1772; this was the declaration of independence of this town, a document worth your reading if you want to know how the people felt at that time. He was also one of the committee to instruct the representatives in 1783 as to what should be done with the Tories who wished to return and have their forfeited lands again — another patriotic

document of which we have no reason to be ashamed. In 1793 Colonel Thatcher sold his land to Elbridge Gerry, who had bought "Elmwood" in 1787.

Elbridge Gerry is the only Vice-President of the United States whom Cambridge can claim. He was the son of Thomas Gerry, a merchant of Marblehead. He graduated at Harvard in 1762, and ten years later represented that town in the Provincial legislature. He married the daughter of Charles Thompson, of Philadelphia, an accomplished and beautiful lady, who had been educated in Europe. He was a member of the First and Second Continental Congresses, and of the Provincial Congress at Watertown in 1775. It was he, who with Azor Orne was at a meeting of the Committee of Safety and Supplies at the Black Horse Tavern on the road to Lexington, who warned Hancock and Adams, who were sleeping at the Clarke House, that the British were coming, and so saved their lives. Gerry was elected governor of Massachusetts by the famous "Gerrymander." He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and was sent by President Adams to France as commissioner during the French Revolution. While he was Vice-President of the United States he died on the way to the Capitol, was buried in the Congressional Burying Ground, and by special act of Congress a monument was erected over his grave bearing this inscription "Every man though he have but one day to live should devote that day to the good of his country."

John Gerry Orne was the son of a niece of Elbridge Gerry, daughter of his brother John. He bought a strip of land on the edge of the river of his great-uncle in 1807 and built there a solid storehouse; his plan was to bring goods there by water and sell to the neighbors. It was not a successful venture and two years later he sold the land and material back to Elbridge Gerry, reserving the right to remove the storehouse and shed. John Gerry Orne married Ann, the daughter of Moses Stone, direct descendant in the fourth generation of Simon Stone, whose grant of land in 1635 comprised twelve acres now included in the southerly part of Mount Auburn Cemetery, which was called Stone's Woods, and also running along the river bank, where Simon's Hill was named for him, and em-

bracing a part of the Cambridge Cemetery. An old pear tree standing on a knoll by the river marks the site of his farmhouse, which was burned in 1844.

On a corner of the Stone farm, now the corner of Mount Auburn Cemetery, stood a little white house, where in the nineteenth century Mrs. Howard lived with her three daughters and two sons. She was the widow of Samuel Howard, of North Square, Boston, who, as an "Indian," took part in the famous Boston Tea Party. Her eldest daughter married Judge Samuel Phillips Prescott Fay. It was a runaway match, not that there was any reason why it should be but simply because it was more romantic. Judge Fay hired a man to stand in front of the banns, which were then put up at the entrance of the meeting house, so that Mrs. Howard should not see them. Judge Fay lived in this neighborhood, but the exact location of his house I have not been able to fix. Another daughter of Mrs. Howard was Caroline, who married Rev. Samuel Gilman, of Charleston, S. C., author of "Fair Harvard," and a writer herself when women authors were not so plenty as now. She wrote "The Southern Matron." The third daughter was the wife of Abijah White, of Watertown, and mother of the first Mrs. James Russell Lowell, Mrs. Estes Howe, Mrs. Montgomery Parker, Mrs. Devens and Mrs. Charles Wyllis Elliott. It was the Misses Howard who gave the name of Sweet Auburn to Stone's Woods, afterwards changed to Mount Auburn when bought for a cemetery.

The storehouse and shed on the river bank were moved up to the top of the high ground, a strip of land was bought from the owner of the Coolidge farm to add to that bought of Mr. Gerry, and a comfortable dwelling house made of it, in which the Orne family lived. John Gerry Orne died in 1838. His daughter, Caroline F. Orne, the poetess, was born here September 5, 1818; she published two books, *Songs of American Freedom* and *Sweet Auburn*. She often spoke of the wild beauty of this part of Cambridge in her day, of the charming old farm house of her grandfather, Moses Stone, and told how she and Miss Maria Fay used to roam up and down the banks of the river dreaming of their futures. She outlived Miss Fay, dying in 1905. In 1826, Mrs. Orne sold the house to Loring Austin.

Later Forsyth Wilson, the poet, lived in it. In 1867 it was bought by the trustees of the Episcopal Theological School, and the first Dean, Rev. John S. Stone, lived here for two years with his family. It was then exchanged for the house on the corner of Phillips Place and Mason Street owned by Mr. John Lord Hayes, and ever since then has been occupied by the Hayes family.

We have traced the history of Gerry's Landing through the three centuries, have noted the early settlers, Saltonstall, Coolidge, Stone, Thatcher, of the seventeenth century; Vassall, the rich West Indian gentleman, Colonel Thatcher, the Revolutionary hero, Vice-President Gerry of the eighteenth century; and spoken of Judge Fay, the Howards and Ornes of the nineteenth century. In this twentieth century, Gerry's Landing has come into its own in the stately houses erected by our hosts, Mr. Edward W. Forbes and Mr. Kenneth G. T. Webster.

I will close with a quotation from Miss Orne's poem *Sweet Auburn,* describing this place a hundred years ago. We cannot imagine the young people of today enjoying the festivities so lovingly depicted:

Oft on Moss Hill I've spread the mimic feast,
With gay companion for my merry guest.
Their smooth broad leaves the oak trees would afford
For polished plates to grace our festal board;

. . . . . .

But gayer feasts Sweet Auburn thou hast seen
Upon thy velvet moss of emerald green,
When gallant youths and gentle lovely maids
Held joyous festival beneath thy shades.

. . . . . .

The daughters of the city, gentle, fair,
In light and graceful beauty wandered there;
And gay of heart and of most gladsome mien
Extolled with high delight the sylvan scene;
There too more favored maidens who each day
Saw the bright earth in loveliest array,
The soft and rosy hue of whose fair cheek
Seemed of sweet health and happiness to speak;
And Harvard's sons, forgetting scholiast's lore,
Conned a more pleasant lesson gaily o'er;
Wearing fresh garlands of the young leaves green,
Lightly they gathered round their youthful queen;

Or where the Maypole, twined with wreath and crown,
Seemed from its lofty honors to look down
And nod approval with a smiling glance,
They wove with flying feet the airy dance.

. . . . . .

Here where the moon shed down her brightest beams,
Paling to silver all thy rippling streams,
Oft would the lover's lute, in pensive strain,
To his cold mistress sighingly complain.
And here in youthful beauty and in grace,
Fairest and loveliest in form and face,
The Queen of Fays oft struck the light guitar
While joyous echoes bore the notes afar.

THE SCHOOLS OF CAMBRIDGE, 1800–1870

By George Grier Wright

Read 30 October, 1918

It being one chief project of Sathan to keep men from the knowledge of Scripture, as in former times keeping them in unknown tongue, so in these latter times, by persuading from the use of Tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers; to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavours;

It is therefore ordered by this court and authority thereof that every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towns to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid him either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns.

And it is further ordered, that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University, and if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, then every such town shall pay five pounds per annum to the next such school, till they shall perform this order. — *Colony Laws.* Chapter 88, 1647.

"This law," it was said by Justice Story, "has contributed more than any other circumstance, to give that peculiar character to the inhabitants and institutions of Massachusetts, for which she, in common with the other New England States, indulges an honest, and not unreasonable pride." While this law authorized the establishment of free public schools it also allowed the establishment of schools supported by the parents of those receiving instruction, and until about 1800 such it appears was the character of the public schools of Cambridge. Dr. Paige in his *History of Cambridge* places the establishment of the grammar school as prior to 1643, but the town of

Dedham claims the honor of having established in 1644 the first public school supported by general taxation.

Rev. William A. Stearns, Chairman of the School Committee, in his address at the dedication of the second high school building in 1848, says that he does not know when the first free school was established in Cambridge. "When I was a member of the college [he graduated 1827] there was an old one-story building northwesterly of the Common and nearly under the shades of the great Washington Elm and I believe on the site of the present Washington Schoolhouse; there was also a small one-story schoolhouse in the North Village on the site of the present North School near what is now Porter's Tavern. These were all the public school accommodations which the town of Cambridge furnished within your memory, sir [the Mayor], and I had almost said within my own." The schoolhouse on Garden Street was built in 1769 and was the first one built at the expense of the town. It was a building almost square, one story high, with a hip roof. It was removed to Brighton Street, corner of Eliot Street, in 1832 and used as a dwelling house until 1917 when it was torn down. The oak timbers were then in good condition showing the marks of the axe in hewing them.

The first school in Cambridgeport was opened in 1800, at which time there were twelve families living within its borders. Mrs. Boardman having learned that many of these families had children wrote to Miss Mary Merriam, a resident of Lincoln, that there might be about twelve scholars, and if she would come and take charge of them she would give her a room and her board. Miss Merriam commenced with twelve pupils at twelve and one half cents per week and an extra charge of two dollars for fuel during the season. "Miss Merriam gave perfect satisfaction, teaching all the useful as well as ornamental branches." She continued to teach for more than thirty years and died in 1852 at the age of 83 years 7 months.

When the school was opened, and for many years afterward, a large portion of Cambridgeport was undrained marsh, and a still larger portion was covered with a heavy growth of timber with no bridges, no roads. The first free public schoolhouse in Cambridgeport was built in 1802 and the first in East

Cambridge in 1818, the one in East Cambridge being described as "a dark miserable den of a place." In 1831 the number of schools had increased to six, as follows:

Old Cambridge	2	schoolhouses,	2	rooms,	2	teachers,	100	scholars
Cambridgeport	2	"	3	"	3	"	160	"
East Cambridge	2	"	3	"	3	"	140	"

These buildings were erected in part at the expense of the town and in part at the expense of the inhabitants of the district, which fact gave rise in 1851 to a question as to their ownership, in connection with the question of the power of the School Committee.

The school buildings erected in the period beginning 1832 appear to have been of the same general character — about 40 to 50 ft. by 25 to 30 ft., two stories high, with a cupola, sometimes with a bell, sometimes without. Until 1838 it would appear that there were no backs to the seats, for in that year the School Committee was authorized to provide backs wherever deemed expedient by them, which order was made imperative for all the schoolhouses in 1839. In 1840, chairs were substituted in place of the plank benches in the grammar and middle schools.

A former scholar in 1848 thus describes the old district schoolhouse: "It was a common square building, had been painted once but none of the people's money was wasted again on the outside. The inside was a stranger to paint and had a weather-beaten appearance. The desk of the teacher was on one side, facing a vacant space in the centre and looking toward the door. The desks on both sides, with the girls on one side facing the boys on the other; the tops of the desks were immovable, bearing the initials of almost every scholar who had ever used them cut in good-sized letters. Near the door were conveniences for hanging coats, hats, &c. In the entry was stored a goodly pile of fuel; the building was protected by neither blinds, trees nor fences."

Mr. George Livermore, born in 1809, a graduate of the Franklin School, gives the following description in 1848 of the school in his day: "More than thirty years ago he was a scholar in the Franklin school. There was then but one school for the various

grades of scholars which are now divided into five. The large boys — old enough to earn their own living and employed during all but the winter term in some honorable manual labor — used then to attend and occupy the back seats and desks near the windows where they would shiver and shake; while the little alphabet scholars were perched upon straight uncomfortable benches so close to the great two-story stove that they were in as much danger of being roasted as the larger ones were of being frozen. Hardly a comfortable seat in the whole house. The old school books were *The Primer*, *Perry's Spelling Book*, an indifferent geography and a poor arithmetic."

Another graduate of the school writes as follows about the master. "Master F. was a true son of his time. The then theory of education required the rod. The moment a boy crossed the threshold of his school prison, the brandished cowhide made his heart beat responsive to the anticipated vibrations of that terrible instrument. A woodcut, if true to life, would represent a master of those days as a spindle-shanked little man, dressed always in black, with a head broken up into all sorts of acute angles, the nose being especially bony and transparent, the lips razor-like and steely, the chin broad, elongated, wedgy, and an eye that from its culminating point would penetrate the evil one if he were to come in a shape porous enough for the entrance of light. . . . Doubtful upon the soul's location, Master F. was free to admit that blows — whether inflicted by the hand as in plucking up hairs by the roots — by the ferule as in hurling it point blank at the head of a suspected urchin — by the cowskin as applied to the back or legs — or by the rattan as laid upon the knuckles with a velocity known only to the paddle wheels of a ten days steamer across the Atlantic — that blows upon any part of the corporeal system *might* not disturb the mechanism by which that more than questionable entity, soul, operated."

Another graduate, Miss Sarah S. Jacobs, well known to many of us who attended the school in the twenties, gives the following description of the school in her time:

"Though the schoolhouse was a building of two stories, only the lower one was occupied by the school. The outer door

opened into a little vestibule where were nails for hanging coats and hats; here too was another door to a stairway with which we had nothing to do. The school room itself — there was but one (a fine contrast to the spacious halls and classrooms of today) — was furnished with clumsy desks or tables, having a narrow shelf beneath, and long benches. It accommodated perhaps sixty children. In the middle of the room was a huge stove for burning wood; also a long crack useful for keeping a class in line. . . . The principal of the school — in white flannel dressing gown — not free from ink spots caused by frequent wipings of his pen, with cowhide in hand, running with noiseless slippers along the tops of the desks to reach that boy in the far corner, unaware of his approach, and now at work on the core of an apple — would no doubt give the scholars of today reason to suppose that the master had suddenly become crazy. . . . Much of a teacher's time was taken up with pen making and mending, for writing was well taught, and steel pens were still in the future."

In 1848, the editor of the Cambridge *Chronicle* points to the coming day of relief. "Schools twenty years ago were indeed places of misery and long periods of recreation were necessary to restore the worn out faculties of all concerned. Far different are they now. Children love to go to school. They learn vastly more than they could possibly do then, when sour looks, cross words and corporal infliction constituted the educational system."

In his address at the dedication of the high school in 1848 Hon. Edward Everett says, "A school forty years ago was a very different affair from what it is now. The meaning of the word has changed. A little reading, writing and ciphering, a very little grammar, and for those destined for college a little Latin and Greek very indifferently taught were all we got at a common town school in my day. . . . I hold, sir, that to read the English language well, that is with intelligence, feeling, spirit, and effect; to write with despatch a neat handsome legible hand (for it is after all a great object in writing to have others able to read what you write) and to be master of the four rules of Arithmetic, so as to dispose at once with accuracy

of every question of figures when it comes up in practical life — I say I call this a good education."

It is difficult to determine when the first high school was established in Cambridge, our predecessors not having been given to printing the annual reports of its officials — so far as I have been able to learn, prior to 1833, even the financial reports of the town were printed on a single sheet — and the earliest printed report of the School Committee known to me was that of 1841. Judge Ladd in 1850 states that the statistics of the schools were not preserved prior to 1839. The earliest record of the School Committee begins in 1834 and furnishes no information in regard to the high school.

The Regulations of the public schools in 1811 contain the following provisions:

I. Children to be admitted into any of the schools, excepting the Female, shall possess the qualifications required by the law regulating Public Schools, viz.; "They shall have learned in some other school or in some other way to read the English language by spelling the same." (*Laws of Massachusetts*, Vol. 1, Chap. 19.)

II. In all the schools shall be taught Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Composition, Arithmetic and Geography and in the Grammar School in addition to these branches the Latin and Greek languages.

In May 1811 the town was divided into four districts and it was voted that No. One is to have a Latin Grammar school 12 months in each year.

A committee appointed by the town August 4, 1834 to consider the subject of a reorganization of the public schools of the Town of Cambridge says, "Inasmuch as the law of the Commonwealth makes it obligatory upon the town to provide a public school in which shall be taught the elements of the Latin and Greek languages and as the grammar school in District No. one has been established as the Latin school for this town," they recommend "that the sons of any citizen in either of the wards who are sufficiently advanced in their English studies may be received into this school for the purpose of learning Latin and Greek." It would appear from this that originally

only boys were admitted to the school which was partly a Latin and partly a grammar school.

The objection to the mixed character of the high and grammar schools was fully appreciated by the School Committee. In 1845 they say in their report, "We would urge upon our successors immediate attention to the High schools — or rather to those Grammar schools (for such they now are) in which scientific and classical instruction is given. They are at present suffering from a too great variety of studies and from the attempt to unite under one instructor a good High school and a good Common school department. . . . We are not prepared to propose an adequate remedy; but would suggest that, unless the town were prepared to unite once more in sustaining one and only one Classical school for the whole people, the number of pupils in the High schools and the number of studies ought to be diminished." As an alternative to a central high school it was suggested that arrangements might be made for the admission of a larger number of pupils into the Hopkins Classical School, the town at that time being entitled to send only nine boys.

In 1838 a building was erected on Broadway, corner of Windsor Street, for a classical or high school for the whole town. This was a two-story wooden building 70 x 30 ft. which cost $5,791.05, including the lot of land containing 10,000 sq. ft. Candidates for admission were required to bring from their guardian, former teacher, or the clergyman whose meeting they attended a certificate of fair moral character and to pass an examination in grammar, geography, history and arithmetic. The course of study required two years only and covered twenty-four subjects. It was considered a hardship by many of the citizens of the First and Third Wards, so the Committee report, to send their children so far to school, and in 1843 each section of the town was furnished with a grammar school master capable of giving instruction in classical studies, which arrangement continued until 1847. The influence of a strong sectional feeling was undoubtedly fully as potent as the inconvenience of the location in preventing the continuance of one school for the whole town.

It is interesting to note that in 1846 the legal authority of

cities and towns to provide at the public expense for instruction in the branches higher than those taught in the grammar schools was questioned. In the case of Cushing *vs.* The Inhabitants of Newburyport, the plaintiff sued the town to recover the amount of his tax on the ground that such use of the public money was illegal. In the opinion given by the Chief Justice such schools are town schools within the proper meaning of the term, and taxes levied for their support are not illegal.

The Auburn School in Ward One appears originally to have been a mixed school for high and grammar scholars, but in some way not entirely clear to see from the reports it had become in 1841 a high school for girls. While only the common branches of grammar school instruction should be taught there, the Committee report in 1842 that under the present faithful teacher it had in fact been raised to the rank of a high school; and in 1845 it was known as "the Female High School," the girls in Ward One having been some years previously gathered into one school — the boys into another. The girls, being more advanced than many of the boys, were placed under a classical instructor and the school was formally called "The Female High School."

In 1846 the Committee report that "Just at the close of the last school year a request was presented to the board by citizens interested for the establishment in Ward One of a high school for boys that the boys might have equal advantages with the girls but that the two sexes be still kept in distinct schools if the proposed arrangement could be made without uniting them." As it was found that not more than 10 or 12 boys would attend a high school the Committee decided to place the grammar school scholars of both sexes in a grammar school and the high school scholars of both sexes in a high school. To this arrangement much objection was made and some parents withdrew their daughters from the school. In their report the Committee discuss very fully the advantages and disadvantages of coeducation, and mention the suggestion of a citizen in one of the country towns that "a squinting board" should be erected between the boys and girls "to prevent any 'casting of sheep's eyes' to the detriment of the morals of the school." In the brick building erected for the Washington

School in 1852, the girls' side was separated from that of the boys by a solid brick wall, each having a separate stairway and a separate yard for their own use. As I recall it, the girls did not sit in the same rooms with the boys until they reached the top floor in charge of Mr. Mansfield. In this room, which covered the entire width of the building (a room 50 ft. square and 11 ft. high), the girls were seated on one side, the boys on the other.

In those early days there appears to have been a lack of confidence in the public schools, so much so that in 1839 there were 504 children in private schools as against 1140 in the public schools — this however had been changed in 1846, much to the gratification of the School Committee, to 244 in private schools, 44 at schools out of town, probably private schools, against 2151 in the public schools.

In 1849, in addition to the Hopkins School, there were six private schools in Cambridge, of which no information is available. As they appear to have been kept in private houses they were probably for children under the school age, which was the case of the one I attended.

The reasons for this objection to the public schools were frankly stated by the Committee in their report for 1845, as well as in previous reports. In 1845 they say, "Whether new houses are erected or not, something should be done immediately for the purification of the old ones — not excepting (we are sorry to add) some of those which have been more recently erected. The committee have no words to express the shame and indignation, which the vile disfigurations of these edifices are calculated to excite. They are among the principal causes which have heretofore brought town schools into disrepute and driven the opulent, and frequently the indigent, to seek private instruction. High-minded and pure-minded parents are unwilling to have the moral sensibilities of their children daily violated and their young hearts vulgarized and defiled by such exhibitions. . . . Let our schoolhouses be sanctuaries of purity and not dens of uncleanness." In other reports the Committee refer to the moral education of the pupils and mention the efforts made "to eradicate habits of lying, swearing, indelicacy of speech and behaviour, petty thieving, truancy and

all other vices." Even as late as the Civil War there was much depravity among the scholars, so extreme that parents were compelled to protest to the teachers and to object to their children being seated near certain scholars. Young children were addicted to habits of smoking, chewing tobacco and even intemperance. Many scholars came to school in such a condition of personal uncleanness that the first instruction given them was the proper use of soap and water and a comb. It was not unusual for teachers to ask contributions to provide proper and necessary clothing for these children also. Schools were kept in low, ill-ventilated vestries, in public halls, without any proper conveniences, as well as in private dwellings and even in an old saddler's shop ventilated only by a hole in the roof. Of one school the Committee report, "It is in a dwelling-house, the lower part of which was occupied by a family who showed a strong predilection, in their cookery, for onions and other odoriferous articles of the kitchen. The crevices in the floor gave the school the full benefit of the fragrance of every sacrifice made on the domestic altar below."

When a new building was erected on School Court, the old schoolhouse was first taken over the tops of the gravestones to the most unoccupied corner of the burying ground where it was proposed to have it remain until the new building should be ready. A protest against this use of the burying ground, signed by Edward Everett and 102 others, was presented to the City Council. In consequence of this and other strong protests the Committee rented the Baptist vestry, but this plan fell through, and after ten days, during which there were no sessions of the school, it reassembled in Lyceum Hall. Having finally settled the old schoolhouse about a mile away, the school again moved to a location near Linnaean Street on North Avenue until with the approach of winter the school was driven to the Baptist vestry. All this in one year!!

The coming of the foreign population also began to affect the schools, presenting new problems for the School Committee in dealing with children from much different home conditions. In 1848 the North Alphabet School in East Cambridge, with one hundred members, contained only three children of native American parentage, and in 1851 with one hundred and twenty

members this number had dropped to only one. In the Broadway Primary in 1851, there were four different races — Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, Celtic and African.

In their reports the Committee constantly appeal for the support of the schools by the citizens. In one report they refer to the appointment in the early history of the town of a committee to visit every family and urge upon them the importance of sending their children to school, and they suggest whether it might not be a wise proceeding to take such action again. At the close of their report in 1845 the Committee say, "Your committee beg leave to urge upon all good citizens the importance, which most of them already deeply feel, of generously sustaining the schools; to the selfish, as well as to the philanthropic, we say sustain the schools; public order, freedom, thrift, the security of property and the comforts of a civilized and Christian community depend upon them. To the benevolent, we say sustain the schools. You cannot confer a greater benefit upon the masses around you than by securing to them a just and thorough education. To the patriotic, we say sustain the schools. It is for you to decide to what sort of population, ignorant or instructed, immoral or virtuous, you will intrust the destinies of this ancient town and your country. Let the wise and pious sustain the schools."

There was also a tendency on the part of parents to take their children from the schools before the age of 16 years, of which the Committee say, "Since this is the fashion of the age we must conform our instruction to it when it cannot be altered." In 1849, however, the Committee report that the ages of the scholars in the North Grammar School on North Avenue varied from 10 to 22 years, rendering the work of the school more difficult; and in 1851 they report several pupils in the Auburn Alphabet School over 14 years of age. The average age of the scholars in the first class in the three high schools in 1846 was 14 years 4 months in Ward I, 15 years 2 months in Wards II and III, and the number of scholars was only 43 out of a total connected with all the schools of 2132. Until 1846 children were admitted to the alphabet schools at the age of four, but in that year the limit was raised to five years.

The hours of the schools and the length of the school year were somewhat different from those of the present day. In the morning the hours were 8 to 11 from May to October, 9 to 12 from October to May — in the afternoon 2 to 5 from March to November, 1.30 to 4.30 from November to March. The holidays were confined to Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, Fast Day, May Day, July Fourth, and Christmas. The vacations were one week at the close of the winter term, the week preceding the first Monday in June, Commencement week and the week preceding, and Thanksgiving week. In 1846, the Committee report that a little more time than usual had been allowed for vacations with the idea that the children should be given more to do in school and more time for recreation out of school. To this increased vacation there was much objection on the part of parents and others; but apparently the opposition did not cause the Committee to reconsider their action in making the June vacation four weeks.

It is not surprising that the Committee were constantly complaining of the lack of regular and punctual attendance. In 1842 they report that with 1625 children on the register, the average attendance was only 1004 — less than two-thirds of the whole number. In 1844 they report that it is not unusual for a quarter part of the scholars to be absent at the same time and in many cases without evidence of sickness or other reasonable excuse. Many who did attend were fifteen to thirty minutes and even one hour behind the time. To check this evil the Committee adopted a regulation requiring a written excuse from the parents or guardian for absence or tardiness. To this some parents objected and the Committee say, "We are pained to add that in a few instances inconsiderate parents have so far forgotten themselves as to accompany their notes of excuse with language calculated to insult and wound the feeling of the teachers." In one school of 150 pupils all the excuses handed in during one quarter were carefully preserved and made a total of 1905 absences, 1064 tardinesses — an average of 13 absences, 7 tardinesses to each. The excuses for absence included company at home, care of an infant brother or sister, visit to a neighboring town, chance to earn a shilling by helping to drive cattle to Brighton. Some of the children were re-

ported to be addicted to truancy, idling away their time on the streets or around the wharves, stables, or bowling alleys. In addition to these evils in some of the schools there was a constant change of membership throughout the year.

In 1845 the Committee present a damaging report upon the condition of the schoolhouses in their care, a report which is somewhat surprising when it is considered that half of the buildings were less than ten years old. No means of ventilation; only partially ventilated; the lower floor badly burned, being the floor of its predecessor which had been destroyed by fire; plastering in bad condition; water in the cellar; without blinds or ventilators; roof old and leaky; floor and plastering in a bad state; cellar overflowing with water, are among the defects mentioned. One building was nearly destroyed by a friction match falling through the cracks in the floor and setting fire to the shavings carelessly crowded beneath when the house was built. In 1842 the Committee on Finance had recommended that the town discontinue the allowance for making fires and taking care of the schoolhouses, suggesting that the scholars might do the work without pay. This had resulted in a lack of uniformity; in some schools the work was done by the scholars, in others contributions were collected in the school to pay the expense, and in a few the work was done at the expense of the town. Finally in 1846 the protest of the School Committee caused a beginning to be made to improve conditions.

In 1834 a committee was appointed by the town to consider the subject of a reorganization of the public schools in the town. They report that "the five school districts into which the town is at present divided are very unequal both in territory and population and afford very unequal accommodation to the children of the different parts of the town. . . . The present system of public schools does not admit of such a classification of the pupils generally as is best adapted to their intellectual improvement. . . . It is manifest that the benefits resulting from such a classification cannot be had from the present organization of the schools nor from any system which (like the present) divides the town into small districts. . . . The numbers in the several sections of the town will at present justify a division of the children into schools of three different

grades. It is believed that the progress of the children may by such a division be much increased without any increase in the expense of supporting the schools." In 1853 the Mayor claimed as a result of this report that Cambridge was the first city in this state to break up the old district school system and to establish a system of regular grades.

The number in each school varied from 68 to 218 and the greatest distance from the school any scholar lived varied in different schools from five-eighths of a mile to one and eleven-sixteenths miles. Apparently progress was slow, as in 1841 the Committee say, "The schools contain each more scholars than one teacher can properly govern, many more than one can instruct. The committee have been compelled to employ several assistants. They have done this with reluctance because they are persuaded that better order is generally preserved in smaller schools and less instruction ordinarily given in rooms where two or three recitations are being heard at the same time."

In 1844 there were five grades of schools —alphabet, primary, middle, grammar and high. The time required to complete the work of the five grades was as follows — alphabet 2 years, primary 2 years, middle 2 years, grammar 3½ years, high 4 to 5 years. The middle school was claimed to be a peculiarity of the Cambridge school system; in other places such a school was merged with the grammar schools. The Committee say that there are certain classes of children, particularly those of foreign parentage, of whom few advance beyond this grade. This classification was retained until 1863 when the alphabet schools were merged with the primary and the middle schools were joined to the grammar, making only three grades in all.

During all this period, and until the passage of the free textbook law in 1884, parents were required to provide the textbooks needed, except in cases where their means would not allow them to do so. Rule 13 of the Regulations was, "No scholar shall be allowed to remain connected with any of the schools unless furnished with the proper books, slates, &c." That this was no small expense is shown by one list of the books which I was required to provide at the commencement of one term at a cost of $8.40 — bills of $2.00 and $3.00

were not uncommon at the opening of each term. The cost of the books required by me in the high school was about $50.00 for the entire four years. It was provided by the statutes that the School Committee should furnish books if the parents neglected to do so and send a statement of the cost to the Assessors who were directed to add the same to the assessment of the parents if they were of the opinion their circumstances would allow them to pay the amount. This law was practically a dead letter, the Committee stating one year that the Assessors had neglected to assess bills transmitted to them amounting to $1,000. Of these books the Committee say in 1851, "Generally it may be said that the mechanical execution of school books is bad, the paper being dingy and flimsy, the type minute and often imperfect, and the impression a faint one, that there is cause for loud and just complaint." While there is much to be said upon both sides in regard to furnishing textbooks free, on the whole it has appeared an advantage to the schools if they are to be free public schools. When textbooks were changed in the old times the publishers usually took the old books and furnished the new at a reduced price — an experience familiar to the parents of the scholars 60 years or more ago. In 1859 a statute was passed that when any change was made the scholars should receive the new books at the expense of the city. A not uncommon practice on the part of the publishers was to make a low price to introduce a textbook and increase the price shortly after its adoption, to which the School Committee recorded a vigorous protest.

The schools were always opened with simple devotional exercises which consisted in reading a short passage of the Scriptures by the teachers, the singing of a hymn and the repeating of the Lord's Prayer by the children. In 1847 the Committee say, "We are satisfied that most of our schools perform this morning exercise with as much reverence and decorum as such services are usually performed by assemblies of adults." In 1855 the Committee say, "We believe the opposition hitherto made to the reading and use of the Bible in our schools is about to disappear. Teachers have experienced but little difficulty in this matter the present year. . . . The want of

moral power in our schools is one of their most prominent defects. In many of the children the moral sense has no culture at home; they have no knowledge of moral law. Remove the Bible from them, and allow the teachers to suspend the devotional exercises, the repetition of the decalogue, and the prayer of our Lord, and it would be found that the moral forces now possessed would be greatly diminished." The present regulations indicate that the opposition extending from that day to more recent times had not caused the change desired.

The Committee in their annual reports urge that more attention be given to reading and that the work should be commenced in the primary schools, expressing a wish that parents would aid by conversing correctly with and in the presence of their children. In the study of arithmetic the children were expected to commit the multiplication table thoroughly to memory in the primary schools, become thoroughly acquainted with Colburn's *First Lessons* in the middle schools and complete the study in the grammar and high schools. The committee note an unaccountable reluctance to use the Spelling Book, "a book which in the days of our fathers was acknowledged *the only sure guide to the English Tongue.*" They refer to the days twenty or thirty years previous, the days of "spelling matches," "choosing sides," and "taking places," when spelling was the most spirited and interesting exercise in the school. Even in those days seventy years ago the Committee deplore the tendency to "many books with superficial knowledge which characterizes the age."

Music was first introduced in 1845 by Joseph Bird, a resident of Watertown near Mt. Auburn, well known to many of our older citizens. Mrs. Clark says that Mr. Bird drove down from Watertown in a covered wagon and sometimes brought pails of brilliant gold and silver fish for those who had paid good attention to his teaching. In 1850 Nathan Lincoln commenced his long service as teacher of music which ended on December 31, 1890. In their report the Committee say, "The exercise affords an agreeable relief from the weariness produced by other studies too long continued, increases the interest felt by the children in the school, thereby contributing to secure a more ready and constant attendance, and exerts an influence

the most happy in repressing the passions, refining the manners, elevating the feelings, and instilling sentiments, conveyed by the words they sing, of love, reverence and devotion."

In 1830 the town annually authorized the School Committee to provide medals or books for such scholars as in their opinion were most worthy of such donation on account of their improvement in the branches of education taught in the schools. An old scholar writes about them as follows: "The medals were tasteful in their form and finish and after being awarded, were taken and marked on one side as given by the committee to such a scholar and on the reverse was the name of the study for proficiency in which they were awarded. Then they were returned to the master to be given to the fortunate ones. The tasteful blue ribbons which suspended them from the neck were the admiration of the winners and the envy of the disappointed." [1]

The Committee from time to time note with great satisfaction the frequent visits of parents at the quarterly examinations of the schools when the schools were examined by the whole committee. They urged upon parents to attend more numerously, expressing the hope that it may become a common thing to meet visitors in every schoolroom on other days as well. They hope that the semiannual examinations will show the schools in their ordinary character, believing show exhibitions injurious. These examinations were periods of much preparation by the teachers, and I doubt not of some anxiety. Until the erection of the high school house on Fayette Street in 1864 there were no halls in the schoolhouses in which the entire body using the building could be assembled, the exhibition of the high school being held in the old City Hall. Consequently the parents and visitors who came to the examinations were crowded around the schoolroom on settees and other temporary seats, sometimes in the seats of absent scholars. The members of the Committee with their guests were seated upon the teacher's platform, while the class being examined was ranged upon a slightly raised platform in the rear of the room behind the desks, the blackboard being upon the rear wall. In some schools the scholars rose upon the entrance of the Committee

[1] Some of these medals were exhibited at the close of the address.

and remained standing until they were seated. It was not uncommon for some of the guests of the Committee to take a hand in asking questions. While at the time it appeared serious to us all, as I look back after these many years, it had some amusing features. The pompous manner of some of the examiners and the knowing look they assumed in asking some difficult question might lead one to think the occasion was intended to show the learning of the Committee rather than that of the school. In some schools, in addition to the regular examination, some of the children recited set pieces with more or less effect, but in all cases after many hours of hard drill by the teachers.

Miss Sarah S. Jacobs thus describes these occasions: —

My sketch were faulty, with entire omission
Of our great crowning glory, Exhibition.
Though scarce could you expect one of my age
All that was spoke in public on the stage
To recollect, yet Shylock's knife, Lochiel
And Young Pretenders haunt the memory still;
And one named Norval of his Grampians vaunting,
And grinding organs — nor the monkey wanting.
One beau worth having I remember well;
Shall I confess? — the bow of William Tell.

Nor is it soon forgot how once a quarter
Sore trembled every mother's son and daughter.
The vain, the timid, all felt perturbation
Upon the morning of Examination.
For there would come that day strange visitors,
Part conscript fathers, part inquisitors,
Not men susceptible of mirth or pity,
Not friends and ministers — but the Committee.
How truly awful was the warning hum,
And the announcement, "Here they are, they come!"
The boys look bold and saucy, and each girl
Gives the last finish to her favorite curl.

It was the custom even then for one of the Committee to make a set speech at the close of the examination.

Our trials o'er, "the chair" made an oration,
Found some improvement in our "pronounsation";
We heard the words "deportment," "approbation,"
Took a long breath, and a whole week's vacation.

In 1848, referring to the fact that no *young* men were elected to the Committee, a correspondent of the *Chronicle* suggested that a spokesman for the scholars might in reply address them in the words of Daniel Webster: "Venerable men! You have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day."

The position of teacher was not in all respects attractive. In 1839 the Regulations say, "The instructors of the several schools, deriving their authority from this board, shall be responsible to it for a faithful discharge of their duties, and no preferment or continuance in office shall be predicated on any principle but those of literary and moral merit, and practical skill." That the standard set for a teacher was no mean one may be gathered from the report of 1841. "It is not a matter of secondary importance that a teacher should cultivate mildness, gentleness, pleasant tones, and kind looks in the schoolroom. We regard it as of vital moment, so much so, that we should deem it our duty to remove a teacher for deficiency in this respect, however he or she might excel in the art of instruction."

It was for many years the practice of the School Committee to present in their annual report a table showing the condition of each school. In 1847 they were classed as "excellent," "very good," "improved," "backward," "very disorderly," "unsatisfactory," accompanied in the body of the report with a fuller statement explaining the reasons for the same. In other years full reports of the attendance of each school were given and in 1850 a table was printed showing the percentage attained by the members of the first class in all studies in all the grammar schools. In this way the work of every teacher was presented to every voter.

Should a teacher offend a parent however, political influence was often exerted to punish the offender — on the other hand did the Committee deem it necessary to remove a popular teacher the same influence was freely used to prevent the change. In 1842 the Committee say, "Cases may arise, in which a teacher is employed, whom the parents and guardians of the children believe incompetent for his place. But the

Statutes require the Committee to use their own judgment of the qualification of teachers. If they err, and parents suffer in consequence of that error, the blame must rest on the law. You may think the law should be such that Committees could only nominate candidates for teachers and refer their choice to the people. But this is *not* the law and is it well, while it remains as it now is, for parents to proceed as though it were." In 1845 the Committee say, "Some children have a habit of always behaving as bad as they can upon the introduction of a new teacher. In some instances, one or two whole quarters have been nearly lost by this means, till it has been found necessary to expel the refractory, or use severe punishment to bring them to subjection. Parents should not give hasty credence to the reports of children respecting a new teacher, nor encourage any remarks tending to diminish his influence, till they have reason to be fully satisfied of his incompetence."

The long service however of many of the teachers would indicate either firmness on the part of the School Committee or great tact upon the part of the teachers, possibly both. Among the earlier teachers who taught for many years may be mentioned Daniel Mansfield 1842–1886 — Adeline M. Ireson 1842–1892 — Benjamin W. Roberts 1848–1900 — Mary F. Pierce 1852–1886 — William F. Bradbury 1856–1910 — Lucy A. Downing 1858–1896 — Abby M. Webb 1860–1896. The frequent resignations of teachers caused by ill health, in some schools as many as three in one year, coupled with the report of the Committee upon the work of the school, would indicate that keeping school was not an easy task in those days.

In the early days discipline was enforced by a free use of the rod, sometimes unduly applied by a teacher of infirm temper; but even at the best the punishment was vigorous to say the least. Among other punishments, beside the cowhide, Miss Jacobs mentions standing on a bench with a bag of unbleached cotton tied over the head for the boys and wearing a split stick shaped like a clothespin on the nose for the girls. In the case of some girl it was not uncommon for her faithful admirer to shake his fists behind the teacher's back while the punishment was being administered. As early as 1843 however there were teachers who entirely discarded the use of corporal

punishment as well as others who seldom resorted to it. As years passed the punishment gradually became less vigorous until in the latter part of the 50's it was confined to blows of a wooden ruler upon the open palms of the children's outstretched hands. There was a theory among the boys that if the hands were well rubbed with powdered rosin the pain would be greatly lessened. To some of the scholars this punishment was a serious matter as it was followed by a much more vigorous one at home.

The use of corporal punishment was not however finally abolished until 1869, although the regulations began to place restrictions upon it in 1863. In 1866 the punishment of a girl in one of the grammar schools led to the prosecution of the master in the police court and to a vigorous campaign in the municipal caucuses, in the public press, and through the mails, for its abolition. At that time the question was also brought before the courts in other states. As a result the punishment of girls was prohibited in 1868, followed by similar action in regard to boys in 1869. In 1871 it was however again permitted for boys under very careful restrictions which would seem to have made its use very difficult. The present rules make no distinction as to sex. Some effort however was required at first to prevent the substitution of more injurious forms of punishment by some of the teachers.

In the earlier part of the last century the town of Cambridge was divided into five school districts and the schoolhouses were built in part at the expense of the district and in part at the expense of the town. There were annual schools and six months' schools, male schools and female schools, and the appropriations by the town were for specified periods of each kind. The schools previous to 1795 appear to have been in charge of the Selectmen but many matters in regard to them were acted upon in town meeting almost to the time of the adoption of the City Charter. Committees had in earlier years been appointed to examine specified schools but the vote of the town on March 23, 1795, appointing a committee of seven for the purpose of superintending the schools in the town and of carrying into effect the school act, was the first appointment of a committee to have charge of all the schools. There was in

addition to the School Committee of seven, a Prudential Committee of one in each district whose duty appears to have been confined to the heating and repair of the school buildings in his district. This division was abolished in October 1834, the town was divided into three wards, and after 1842 no Prudential Committee was chosen, and in 1858 the number of the Committee was increased to ten. The schools were visited monthly by one member of the Committee and at the close of alternate quarters the whole Committee visited every school. In 1841 the Committees say, "When we consider the trust reposed in them by the State, the examination and in some cases the employment, of all candidates for teachers, the monthly visitation of all the schools, the selection of books for the children, the quarterly examination of each school, the giving counsel to the teachers, and the general charge and superintendence of all the schools, we cannot fail to perceive that no office in the town is more difficult and responsible than this." This was continued until the election of a superintendent of schools in 1868. In addition to this the regulations required the members to examine the yards and outbuildings and to take cognizance of difficulties between parents and teachers. The salary paid by the town does not appear to be uniform, varying from $25.00 to $40.00 per annun; after the adoption of the City Charter it appears to have been increased from $80.00 to $145.00 per annum. I suppose the variations were based upon the time given by each member.

The chairman of the Committee for some years prior to 1843 was Rev. Artemas B. Muzzey of the Austin Street Unitarian Church. In 1843 he was succeeded by Rev. William A. Stearns of the Congregational Church on Norfolk Street, later President of Amherst College. Among others who served on the School Committee in those days were Prof. Cornelius C. Felton, Prof. Francis Bowen, Rev. Joseph W. Parker of the Baptist Church on Magazine St., Rev. John A. Albro of the Shepard Church, Rev. Nicholas Hoppin of Christ Church, Rev. Massena Goodrich of the Universalist Church, East Cambridge, and Dr. William W. Wellington, 18 years a member of the Board and for 31 years Secretary of the Board.

In considering the schools of these early days it must not be

overlooked that the population was small and the wealth of the town was corresponding. In 1800 the population was only 2453 including the territory of West Cambridge and Brighton (then called Little Cambridge). Of this population only 1200 were within the present limits of Cambridge, a majority of whom were within half a mile of the college. The business depression in the early part of the last century had very seriously affected the prosperity of the town, many of its citizens having been rendered bankrupt. Yet even in the midst of this depression the town in 1817 with a population of about 3000 expended almost $2200.00 for the schools, about one-fifth of the total paid out for all purposes. In 1851 the total expended for the schools was about one-third of the total ordinary expenses of the city. The lack of railroad facilities has always seriously retarded the growth of Cambridge so that the increase in population has always been gradual and moderate. In 1846 when the City Charter became effective the population was only about 12,500 and the valuation about $9,300,000. Even in 1870 the population was only 39,634 with a valuation of $43,097,200 while the city debt had increased from $22,000 to $1,671,072, with no sinking fund or other provision for its payment.

I look back upon the fourteen years I spent in the public schools of my native city with the greatest pleasure, and as one of the graduates of the old schools I do not hesitate to challenge comparison with the schools of the present day if judged by results. Whatever may have been their shortcomings the work of the schools was done with a thoroughness which will not suffer by comparison with the schools of today. What we learned we knew, which is not I think so generally true of the present generation. The relations between the teachers and the scholars were to a great extent those of friends and advisers. If we are able to deal with the apparently larger problems of the present day may it not be that our ability to do so is in some measure owing to the labors of those who have gone before us? While their difficulties may appear small in comparison with ours should it not be said that considering the conditions at that time they were relatively as difficult?

In conclusion I am in hearty accord with the words of Mr.

George Livermore (a member of the School Committee), as true today as when they were printed 70 years ago. "Much was said and very truly at the dedication of the schoolhouse about the superior liberality of the present day. I fear we neglect to do full justice to the struggles and sacrifices of our ancestors in laying the foundations of free schools. Let us not ignorantly be guilty of sounding our own praises for liberality at the expense of our honored ancestors. They in their days of weakness laid the foundation, in toil and trial, in want and danger. We in peace and plenty from our abundance carry up the edifice a little way or perhaps add the capstone and then foolishly forget their struggles, or only mention them to compare their immediate results with ours and boastingly take to ourselves the glory of success."

ANNUAL REPORT OF SECRETARY AND COUNCIL

During the past year the regular functions of the Society have continued successfully. The annual meeting was held 23 October, 1917, at the house of Prof. Robinson. The officers of last year were re-elected and the usual reports read and accepted. Prof. William Morris Davis spoke upon the "Historical Aspects of the Geology and Geography of Cambridge," and answered numerous questions.

The winter meeting was held 22 January, 1918, at the house of Mrs. Sampson. A paper by Mr. Frank Foxcroft was read on "The History of No-License in Cambridge," and the Secretary read a paper on "Burgoyne and His Officers in Cambridge, 1777–1778."

The spring meeting was postponed until June 15, in order to be held out of doors at "Gerry's Landing," under the joint hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Webster, Mr. and Mrs. Forbes and Mr. William A. Hayes. Addresses were made appropriate to the historic sites in the immediate vicinity. Mrs. Farlow spoke on the "Long House of the Northmen," Mrs. Gozzaldi on Sir Richard Saltonstall, John Vassall, and other early owners of the neighboring estates, Mr. Hayes on "Sir Richard's Way," and Mr. S. A. Eliot on Forsyth Wilson, the poet and neighbor of James Russell Lowell. The whole occasion, with the perfect weather, the extensive view, and the roses in their full beauty, proved a delightful innovation and should be followed by similar outdoor gatherings in Junes to come.

During the year the Council has held five meetings — on 27 November, 1917, and 18 January, 12 April, 6 June and 21 October, 1918, all at the house of President Thayer. Little business of general interest has been transacted, the matters considered being mostly the arrangements for the stated meetings and the elections of new members. At the last meeting a committee was appointed to revise the by-laws and another to arrange for the public meeting on the 22d of February next to commemorate the centenary of James Russell Lowell.

The Great War, in spite of the unprecedented demands it has made on our community, has had surprisingly little effect on our Society. A few resignations made on conscientious grounds left places that were easily and quickly filled. The meetings have been well attended; and the papers and addresses have been of a high order and of a pleasing variety, not confined to personalia, but also touching on some of the broader aspects of local history.

The most notable event to be chronicled by the Secretary has been the determined and successful campaign whereby the active membership has once more reached its maximum of two hundred — for the first time in several years. We have been fortunate in securing a group of new members whose presence is a distinct gain to our meetings, and to each and all we bid a hearty welcome.

The volume of the *Letters of John Holmes*, prepared by a committee of the Society and published last November, has met with a gratifying reception by the general public. Under arrangements with the publishers a copy was supplied gratis to every member of the Society, in lieu of the royalty on the first one thousand copies, and all profits on further sales are to accrue to the Society's treasury. The point is now close at hand where this source of income will be realized, 912 copies having been sold to date.

The past year has seen the virtual completion of one of the most important tasks undertaken under the auspices of the Society — the index to Paige's *History of Cambridge*. Originally begun independently by Hon. Charles J. McIntire, it was taken up by our indefatigable member, Mrs. Gozzaldi, the incidental expenses being defrayed from the Society's current funds. After years of patient and accurate work this invaluable manuscript is practically ready for the printer. The cost of publication is estimated at about $2000, which would doubtless be recouped in time from the sales. Unfortunately, the Society has no pecuniary reserves available for such an enterprise; so that, if the volume is to be issued, it must be through a special subscription. The attention of all well-disposed members is earnestly bespoken for this object. Nothing could more greatly redound to the credit of the Society than to follow

the *Letters of John Holmes* with such a publication. It is in fact much more than an index, being more accurately a genealogical key to all Cambridge families for nearly two hundred and fifty years. When we recall that it is the indispensable complement of a volume prepared by express request of the Congress of the United States, we may safely assume that it will secure attention all over the country, and every effort should be made to expedite its appearance. Subscriptions for this purpose will be gratefully accepted by the Treasurer.

The Council would once more impress upon all members its earnest wish for their co-operation in making this Society all that it should be. Nothing is further from its intentions than to act as a sort of star chamber. It has no ambition to direct the fortunes of the organization in secret, along lines either arbitrary or antiquated. It desires only to act as the steward of the members and to carry out their wishes, fully persuaded that they have as great and as intelligent an interest in the success of the Society as the Council has. It therefore once more renews its request for the aid and advice of the individual members. While suggestions of any kind will always receive careful attention, the following points will be especially valuable: proposals for new memberships, offers of houses for meeting places, topics for papers, names of new speakers (not necessarily members), information as to manuscripts of local interest, and gifts of all kinds for the Society's collections, including not only objects of historical value but appropriate books, documents, pictures, autographs, maps and all other material bearing upon the history of Cambridge.

SAMUEL F. BATCHELDER,
Secretary

Cambridge, 30 October, 1918.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

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American Irish Historical Society.
Journal. Vol. 16, nos. 3, 4 (1917).

Anonymous Source.
Order of exercises at the dedication of the Soldiers' Monument, July 13, 1870.
Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Vols. 2, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, and 14.

Blish, Miss Ariadne.
Cap made by Mrs. Bezabel Shaw, of Nantucket, for her little daughter, Betsy Shaw, afterwards Madam Craigie.

Brookline Historical Society.
Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 24, 1918.

Ensign, Mrs. Dwight W.
One hundred years ago: or, A brief history of Cambridgeport and East Cambridge, by S. S. S. Boston, 1859.

Illinois State Historical Library.
Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library. Nos. 22, 23.
Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society. Vol. 9, no. 4; vol. 10, nos. 1, 2 (1917).

Indiana State Library.
Publications of Indiana Historical Society. Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4 (bound); vol. 6, no. 2; vol. 7, nos. 1, 2.

Ipswich Historical Society.
Publications, no. 22 (1918).

Lancaster County (Pa.) Historical Society.
Papers read before the . . . Society. Vol. 21, nos. 6–10; vol. 22, nos. 1–5 (1917–18).

Lane, William C.
Ten reports of various Cambridge societies and institutions.

London Public Library. London, Ontario, Canada.
Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society. Part 9 (1918).

Lynn Historical Society.
Register. Vol. 20 (1916).

Massachusetts Historical Society.
Proceedings. Vols. 50 and 51 (1916–17 and 1917–18).

Medford Historical Society.
Historical register. Vol. 20, no. 4 (1917); vol. 21, nos. 1–3 (1918).

Middlesex County (Conn.) Historical Society.
Pamphlet, no. 15 (June, 1918).

Minnesota Historical Society.
Minnesota History Bulletin. Vol. 2, nos. 3–7 (1917–18).
Missouri Historical Society.
List of members (1917).
State Historical Society of Missouri.
Missouri Historical Review. Vol. 12, nos. 2–4; vol. 13, no. 1 (1918).
Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union.
Annual reports for 1916 and 1917.
New Hampshire Historical Society.
Manual (1918).
New Jersey Historical Society.
Proceedings. New Series, vol. 2, no. 4 (1917); vol. 3, no. 1 (1918).
New York Public Library.
Bulletin. Vol. 21, nos. 9–12 (1917); vol. 22, nos. 1–8 (1918).
Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.
Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly. Vol. 26, no. 4 (1917); vol. 27, nos. 1–3 (1918).
Oregon Historical Society.
Quarterly. Vol. 18, nos. 2–4 (1917); vol. 19, nos. 1, 2 (1918).
Pennsylvania Society. New York City.
Year book for 1918.
Commercial Museum. Philadelphia.
Annual report of the Philadelphia Museums for the year 1914.
Independence Hall. Philadelphia.
Catalogue of portraits and other works of art in Independence Hall. (1915).
Potter, Alfred C.
Manuscript records of the East Cambridge Anti-Slavery Society, 1837–1840.
Rhode Island Historical Society.
Proceedings at the dedication of a tablet to the memory of Major Samuel Appleton, November 3, 1916.
Saunders, Miss Mary.
Framed view of Cambridge, 1831.
Schenectady County (N.Y.) Historical Society.
Historical sketches and points of interest in Schenectady.
Shaw, Miss Josephine M.
Account book containing copy of the will of Mrs. Elizabeth Craigie and inventory of her estate.
Collection of receipted bills, accounts, etc., of Andrew and Elizabeth Craigie.
Smithsonian Institution. Washington.
Proceedings of the 12th annual Conference of Historical Societies, 1917.
University of Toronto Library.
Review of historical publications relating to Canada. Vol. 21 (1916).
United States. Library of Congress.
Report of the Librarian of Congress for the year ending June 30, 1917.
Vineland (N.J.) Historical and Antiquarian Society.
Annual report for the year ending October 9, 1917.
Vineland Historical Magazine. Vol. 3, nos. 1, 2 (1918).

Virginia Historical Society.
Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 25, no. 4 (1917); vol. 26, nos. 1–3 (1918).

Virginia State Library.
Bulletin. Vol. 10 (1917).

Washington University State Historical Society.
Washington Historical Quarterly. Vol. 8, no. 4 (1917); vol. 9, nos. 1–4 (1918).

Western Reserve Historical Society.
Tract, no. 97 (1917).

White, Mrs. Alice Merrill.
Engraving of Joseph Warren Merrill, Mayor of Cambridge 1865–67.

Wisconsin Archeological Society.
Wisconsin Archeologist. Vol. 16, nos. 3, 4 (1917–18); vol. 17, nos. 1, 2 (1918).

State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
Proceedings at its 65th annual meeting, October 25, 1917.
Wisconsin Magazine of History. Vol. 1, nos. 1–4 (1917–18); vol. 2, no. 1 (1918).

DEPOSITED

By Mrs. Oliver McCowan. Manuscript account book of Henry Vassall, 1753–1759.

Edward L. Gookin,
Curator

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Cash Account

In obedience to the requirements of the By-laws the Treasurer herewith presents his annual report of the receipts and disbursements for the year 1917–18.

RECEIPTS

Balance, 22 October 1917			$63.41
Admission fees		$82.00	
Annual assessments: Regular Members	$564.00		
Associate Members	12.00	576.00	
Interest		8.39	
Society's publications sold		10.00	
Use of the Society's plates		14.40	690.79
			$754.20

DISBURSEMENTS

McCarter & Kneeland, printing notices of meetings	$10.25	
University Press, printing, repair of plates, etc.	7.50	
Caustic Claflin Co., printing notices	2.00	
Elsie E. Minton, clerical services rendered the Treasurer	25.00	
Mary I. Donovan, clerical services rendered the Secretary	25.00	
Richard H. Jones, services reporting lecture of Professor Davis and furnishing transcript	16.50	
Sarah L. Patrick, typewriting reports, papers and envelopes	10.00	
Helen E. Lilly, addressing envelopes, cataloguing and stenographic work	10.00	
Julia Freedman, preparing accounts of MS. diaries for the printers	7.00	
Helen L. Lund, stenographic work	3.00	
Postage, stationery and all petty items	15.11	$131.36
Balance in National Shawmut Bank, 28 October, 1918		622.84
		$754.20

In the opinion of several of our members the time has arrived when the Society should consider what steps ought to be taken in the near future to secure an endowment. While the present war conditions preclude the possibility of a successful campaign at this time, when the calls for money are many and urgent, it is not too soon to call the attention of our members and of the generously disposed among our citizens at large and of all persons interested in the history of Cambridge, to the needs of the Society and the ends which the Society might accomplish if its financial resources were once established on a firm basis.

One important work that might be undertaken now is the printing of the valuable Supplement to Paige's *History of Cambridge*, which Mrs. Gozzaldi has compiled within the past decade. It includes a complete index of Dr. Paige's classic genealogical or biographical sketches of many of the persons mentioned in his book. It will fill four or five hundred printed pages, and it will be indispensable to all libraries and individuals owning the *History*. This work has been a labor of love with Mrs. Gozzaldi, and should be published by this Society as one of its publications.

The possession of an endowment would enable the Society to publish many valuable public and private records which would be helpful to historical students and scholars, and at the same time enhance the reputation of the Society.

Perhaps the most important end to be attained through the possession of an adequate foundation would be the securing of a permanent home for the Society. Our members are generally aware of the fact that the heirs of Mr. Longfellow have wisely and patriotically secured the Longfellow House from the vicissitudes which often overtake historical landmarks. The estate has been placed in trust and a fund has been set aside to provide for its upkeep. There is also a provision in the deed of trust under which this Society might, under certain conditions, find its permanent home in Washington's headquarters, but only if the Society is possessed of an ample endowment, sufficient to maintain itself and a proper force of officers. Such an endowment should not be less than one hundred thousand dollars.

It is hoped, therefore, that by gifts or bequests of money or securities our permanent funds may be largely augmented in the near future to enable the Society to avail of the opportunities which are already abundant and of the still greater ones which may be within our reach in the future.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer

Cambridge, 30 October, 1918.

I find the foregoing account from 22 October, 1917 to 28 October, 1918 to have been correctly kept and to be properly vouched. I have also verified the cash balance of $622.84.

FRED N. ROBINSON, *Auditor*

Boston, 29 October, 1918.

NECROLOGY

Flora Viola Allen

Mrs. Flora Viola Allen was born April 2, 1844 at Pomfret, Vermont, and died at her home, 22 Centre Street, Cambridge, on April 11, 1917. She was the daughter of Roswell Allen, Jr. and May (Snow) Allen, his wife. Her maternal grandfather, Eben Snow, Sr., was a soldier in the War of 1812. On her father's side she was descended from Elnathan Allen of Pomfret, who was a soldier in the Revolution and was a first cousin of the famous Ethan Allen of the "Green Mountain Boys."

October 20, 1865, she married in Chelsea, Mass., Oscar Fayette Allen. They removed to Cambridge in 1878, where Mr. Allen was for many years thereafter the Treasurer of the Cambridge Savings Bank.

Mrs. Allen lived in Cambridge for almost forty years and was in a quiet but effective way a helper in many good causes. She was a member of the Cantabrigia Club, the East End Christian Union, a life member of the Anti-Tuberculosis Society of Cambridge and of the Visiting Nursing Association. She was a charter member of the Cambridge Historical Society, a member of Signet Chapter of the Order of the Eastern Star, and of the Daughters of Vermont. She was buried in her native town of Pomfret, Vermont.

Frank Augustus Allen

Frank Augustus Allen was born in Sanford, York County, Maine, January 29, 1835. He graduated from the public schools of his native town and then attended the academy at Alfred, Maine. At seventeen years of age he began work as a bobbin boy in a cotton mill at Biddeford, Maine, but at twenty-one left the mill to found a dry goods business on his own account at Saccarappa in the same state. After this he engaged in manufacturing in Boston and New York and finally settled in Cambridge in 1871.

Mr. Allen became interested in public affairs in Cambridge and was a member of the Common Council in 1876–77, mayor in 1877, member of the Board of Sinking Fund Commissioners, and of the Water Board, from 1895 to 1899. He was also trustee of Dowse Institute, 1877–1901.

He was one of the earliest members of the Cambridge Historical Society, having been elected in November of 1905. He was also a member of the Boston Art Club, Boston City Club, and of the Mizpah Lodge of Masons.

He married Annie G. Scribner of Gorham, Maine, who died in 1865, leaving two children, Annie E. and Herbert M. In 1866 he married Elizabeth M. Scribner. He died May 22, 1916. His funeral took place at his residence, 263 Harvard St., and he was buried in Cambridge Cemetery. His portrait may be found in the *Cambridge Tribune* for May 27, 1916.

George Vasmer Leverett

George Vasmer Leverett was born at Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1846, the son of Daniel and Charlotte (Betteley) Leverett. He was graduated from Harvard University in 1867 and took the degree of LL.B. in 1869 and A.M. in 1870. He married Mary E. L. Tebbetts of Cambridge, April 3, 1888.

He was a practicing lawyer and trustee in Boston from 1871 until his death. He was associated with Professor James B. Thayer of the Harvard Law School until the latter's death in 1902, and was highly esteemed by him. From 1886 he was with the American Bell Telephone Co. and the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. In the latter company he was at first official attorney, later counsel and finally general counsel. He was a director of the Conveyancers' Title Insurance Co., State Street Trust Co., and many other important companies. He was a life member of the Cambridge Historical Society, also a member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, member of the Harvard Club of New York, and of the University Union, the University Club, Chicago, the Boston Athletic Association, and the Oakley Country Club. He died at his home, No. 66 Beacon Street, Boston, October 18, 1917.

John McDuffie

John McDuffie, called by Mayor Good, in accepting his portrait presented to the city in 1914, "the grand old man of Cambridge," was born in Cambridge, December 23, 1828. His ancestors migrated from Scotland to Londonderry, Ireland, which took part with William of Orange in the revolution of 1688 and resisted the forces of James II. Mr. McDuffie often referred to the part which his family took in sustaining the memorable siege of Londonderry, which lasted 105 days, the inhabitants enduring extremes of privation, until a man-of-war brought relief and the siege was raised.

John McDuffie of Cambridge was of the sixth generation from Daniel McDuffie, born in Londonderry, Ireland, who came to this country about 1720 and settled in Londonderry, New Hampshire. The line of descent is: (1) Daniel; (2) Hugh; (3) John; (4) John; (5) John; (6) John.

The subject of this sketch began his education in the Cambridge public schools; but, as his father died when he was twelve years old, he was obliged to leave school and begin to earn his own living. His first place was in Warren's dry goods store, on Washington Street, Boston. In 1849 he became bookkeeper in Hovey's seed store on Merchants' Row, Boston, where he remained until 1861, when he was appointed by President Lincoln postmaster of Cambridge. In 1866 and 1867 he was a member of the Cambridge Common Council, having as a fellow-member Charles W. Eliot, later president of Harvard University. He was a member of the Massachusetts legislature in 1868, 1871, 1872, and was elected clerk of committees of the Cambridge city government in 1876. This position he held until 1913, when he resigned. In 1901, after twenty-five years of service, a loving cup was presented to him with a sum of money for a trip to Europe for himself and his wife.

Mr. McDuffie married in 1860 Hannah Elizabeth Givens who was, like himself, a member of the Parker Fraternity of Theodore Parker's church. They had two sons, Dr. John MacDuffie (as the name is now spelled) of the MacDuffie

School, Springfield, Massachusetts, and Rufus MacDuffie of the Wendell & MacDuffie Company, New York City; also a daughter, Caroline Elizabeth, now Mrs. Charles W. Sherman, of Belmont. Mrs. McDuffie died in 1911 and a few months later Mr. McDuffie went to live with his daughter, Mrs. Sherman, in Belmont, where he died April 15, 1915.

Mr. McDuffie's mind was a storehouse of historical and genealogical knowledge, and he also had at his tongue's end all the laws and ordinances concerning the city of Cambridge. He was extremely useful in preparing for the City Council its resolutions and ordinances during his term of service. With his useful qualities he combined a charm of manner and a real friendliness which made it a pleasure to transact business in the departments of the city government where he was to be found.

He was a Freemason, a member of Mizpah Lodge, R.A. Chapter, Cambridge Council and Cambridge Commandery. He was also a Son of the American Revolution.

Caroline King Wyman

Mrs. Caroline King (Hooper) Wyman was born in Boston, September 12, 1828. She was the daughter of Henry Northey Hooper and Priscilla Langdon (Harris) Hooper, his wife. Mr. Hooper was born in July, 1799, in that part of Manchester, Massachusetts, now known as Smith's Point but then called Kettle Cove. Her marriage to Edward Wyman, of Roxbury and Cambridge, took place in Roxbury, September 22, 1864.

Until Mr. Wyman's death she attended with him the First Parish Church in Cambridge, but later became a member of St. John's Memorial Church on Brattle Street.

Mrs. Wyman was a charter member of the Cambridge Historical Society and was greatly interested in its work. For many years she worked actively for the Cambridge Hospital and for the Grenfell Hospital in Labrador. She was a member of the Church Periodical Club and of the Cambridge Basket Club and at the time of her death was president of the latter. She died in Cambridge, January 25, 1915, and was buried in the Wyman lot in Mount Auburn cemetery.

The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS

XIV

PROCEEDINGS

For the Year 1919

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
Published by the Society
1926

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President	William Roscoe Thayer
Vice-Presidents	Andrew McFarland Davis Worthington Chauncey Ford Hollis Russell Bailey
Secretary	Samuel Francis Batchelder
Treasurer	Henry Herbert Edes
Curator	William Coolidge Lane

Council

Hollis Russell Bailey
Samuel Francis Batchelder
Frank Gaylord Cook
Richard Henry Dana
Andrew McFarland Davis
Henry Herbert Edes
Worthington Chauncey Ford
Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
George Hodges
William Coolidge Lane
Alice Mary Longfellow
Fred Norris Robinson
William Roscoe Thayer

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FORTY-SIXTH MEETING

THE FORTY-SIXTH MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was a special public meeting held in Sanders Theatre on the evening of February 22, 1919, to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of James Russell Lowell.

The president of the Society, William Roscoe Thayer, LL.D., presided and, after a few introductory remarks, presented the speakers.

The order of exercises was as follows:

READING OF A PORTION OF THE HARVARD COMMEMORATION ODE . . . . . PROFESSOR CHARLES T. COPELAND
ADDRESS . . . . . PRESIDENT EMERITUS CHARLES W. ELIOT
POEM: THE RETURNING . . . . . PERCY MACKAYE
ADDRESS . . . . . PROFESSOR BLISS PERRY

ADDRESS

BY CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT

President Emeritus of Harvard University

THE part assigned to me in these commemorative exercises is the consideration of Lowell's career as a college professor, his influence on University teaching, and his conception of a University's function in the life of a nation.

He was appointed Smith Professor of the French and Spanish languages and literatures and Professor of Belles-Lettres in 1855, his only predecessors in that chair being George Ticknor, the historian of Spanish literature, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, each of whom held that professorship for eighteen years. Lowell was titular professor on the Abiel Smith Endowment for thirty-one years, but was absent in Europe for something more than ten years out of that period. He had no natural inclination towards the work of a teacher; but he welcomed his appointment to the professorship, because it gave him a small but sure income as a supplement to the somewhat unreliable proceeds of his literary labors. It was a course of lectures on English literature at the Lowell Institute in the winter of 1855 which occasioned his election to the Smith professorship. He then for the first time appeared formally as a critic and historian of literature. Up to that date Lowell would have been most correctly described as a man of letters and a rising poet.

His most important function as Smith Professor was from the beginning the delivery of one lecture a week on modern literature. He had no fancy for this occupation. When he was in Europe in 1855–56, making preparatory studies in Germany and Italy, he wrote to a friend about getting "quietly settled again at Elmwood with the Old Man of the Sea of my first course of lectures off my shoulders." In September, 1856, when he had returned to Cambridge he says, "I have not begun to lecture yet, but am to deliver my old Lowell Institute course first, and then some on German literature and Dante." When he was thinking to go from Germany into Italy in January, 1856, he refers to his College appointment thus: "It takes me a great while to learn that I have a tether round my leg — I who have been used to gallop over the prairies at will — and I find myself brought up now and then with a sharp jerk that is anything but pleasant to the tibia. But I suppose I shall learn to stand quietly up to my manger at last." About the same time he wrote to another friend, "Yesterday I began my lectures and came off better than I expected; for I am always a great coward beforehand. I *hate* lecturing; for I have discovered (*entre nous*) that it is almost impossible to learn *all* about anything, unless indeed it be some piece of ill luck, and then one has the help of one's friends you know." In May, 1857, he

writes to his friend Stillman, "While my lectures are on my mind I am not myself, and I seem to see all the poetry drying out of me."

The delivery of these lectures on Modern Literature once a week remained Lowell's chief teaching function for twenty years; but at intervals he also gave instruction in elementary Spanish and Italian, when no instructor had been obtained in these languages for the current year or term, or when one or more of the teachers of these subjects fell ill. For example in 1859–60, the study of all modern languages being optional, Lowell taught the elements of Spanish and Italian to volunteers three times a week for each language. This service must have been to him a real affliction and a serious interruption of his active work as editor and essayist. Again, in 1860–61, there being no instructor in Italian, Professor Lowell gave the instruction in that language in the senior year to an elective class three times a week. In 1869, Assistant Professor Cutler being ill, Lowell says: "I am shepherding his flocks for him meanwhile — now leading them among the sham-classic pastures of Corneille, where a colonnade supplies the dearth of herbage; now along the sunny broad-viewed uplands of Goethe's prose. It is eleven o'clock and I am just back from my class. At four I go down again for two hours of German, and at half-past seven I begin on two hours of Dante."

The last clause is an allusion to Lowell's evening meetings with a few advanced students of Italian in his study at Elmwood, meetings which were maintained throughout most of Lowell's active service as a professor. There he gave a few appreciative students a critical survey of Dante's greatest works, revealing to them the innumerable beauties of the poet's thought and style, and also his teaching of liberty, toleration, and nobler prospects for mankind. In these intimate meetings Lowell was at his best as a teacher, because he was much of the time teaching the beauty in the thoughts, phrases, and words of a transcendent genius. He illustrated these lessons with ideas, words, and phrases drawn from other literatures, especially from English literature. His own memory for choice words and felicitous phrases was marvellous; for he remembered not only the words and phrases themselves, but the places where he had seen them. In the autumn of 1872 I was asking him about the word "rote," then in use among sailors and

fishermen on the coast of Maine to indicate the sound of waves beating on a rocky shore, not on a pebbly or sandy beach. Lowell rose from his chair, climbed to a top shelf in his library, took down a small book of the seventeenth century, turned its leaves for a moment, and handed me the page on which the word "rote" occurred in precisely the sense in which a man born on the island where I had my summer camp used the word, when we were trying to cross Frenchman's Bay in a thick fog. Suddenly he shouted to me from the bow, "We 're just right. I hear the rote on Stave Island Thrumbcap." Lowell resumed his easychair and his pipe, and remarked, "It is many years since I have had that book in my hand or have heard that excellent word."

These classes in his library, in sharp contrast with his public lectures, were always agreeable to Lowell, and delightful to the few students who there gathered about an admired and beloved master.

Professor Lowell remained the official head of the Department of Modern Languages from his first appointment in 1855 till he began his diplomatic service in 1877; but those duties were light and occupied very little of his time. In the early years of his service as professor he attended with approximate regularity the meetings of the College Faculty, particularly during the administrations of President Walker and President Felton. Thus the records of the College Faculty show that he attended ninety-two meetings out of one hundred and sixty-one between July, 1859, and December, 1862. This attendance must have been for him a serious sacrifice; for at that time the meetings of the Faculty were held in the evening.

During the greater part of Lowell's service as a professor he was much occupied with editorial functions and in writing for reviews and magazines. He was the first editor of the *Atlantic Monthly,* and was associated with Professor Norton in the editorship of the *North American Review,* and to both these periodicals he contributed a large number of articles, both political and literary. The two occupations were not inconsistent; and probably each helped in some measure the other.

His first appointment as a diplomat — President Hayes appointed him Minister Resident at the Court of Spain in 1877 — was peculiarly appropriate, because of his thorough knowledge

of the Spanish language and literature, — a knowledge which his work as a professor had made ampler and more exact.

After 1869–70 the Department of Modern Languages was strongly reënforced, and its position in the University greatly improved; and Professor Lowell was no longer called upon for elementary or routine work.

Lowell's influence as a university teacher illustrated some of his own fundamental convictions. He believed that language should always be taught primarily as the vehicle of beautiful literature, whereas most language teachers of that day were using admirable literature as means of teaching grammar and philology. He thought it much more important for a boy, or a man, to learn to appreciate and love the beauty and grace of literature as a vehicle of sound philosophy and living truth than to become familiar with the genealogy of words or the logic of grammar, to enjoy the rhythm and flow of good poetry than to study the technique of its metres. The spiritual contents or substance of fine literature seemed to him much more important than its conventions or usages as to forms or derivations. He thought it hard and unnecessary that any competent student should be obliged to choose between devoting himself to philology and accurate linguistic scholarship on the one hand or to the real products of poetic and dramatic genius on the other. Was there not time for both? He held the opinion — decidedly heretical in a Harvard professor of his time — "that there is neither ancient nor modern on the narrow shelves of what is truly literature."

Lowell's conception of the function of a University was always lofty, though subject to some fluctuations of opinion as to discipline and scope. He declared that "the fame and usefulness of all institutions of learning depend on the greatness of those who teach in them, and great teachers are almost rarer than great poets." Further, it was his opinion that Harvard College up to the middle of the nineteenth century had had no great teachers. It had had many devoted teachers but no great ones, capable of inspiring as well as informing and guiding youth. He often lamented that Harvard's grounds and buildings had no beauty or charm, and commiserated the Cambridge graduates who came over with the early immigrations for "the pitiful contrast which

they must have felt between the carven sanctuaries of learning they had left behind and the wattled fold they were rearing here on the edge of the wilderness." Another indispensable equipment of a University was manifestly books; and in this respect he thought that the College, and the New England ministers and teachers bred at the College, fared pretty well during the first two hundred years. He himself, growing up in the first half of the nineteenth century at and near Harvard College, had, he thought, no great teacher, — but many good books.

If the intellectual and aesthetic resources of the College during the first two hundred years were but scanty in his view, he did not fail to perceive that the College supplied the greater part of New England with teachers and ministers who were wise leaders in communities of which Lowell himself could say "in civic virtue, intelligence, and general efficacy I seek a parallel in vain." "This," he declares concerning the Harvard human product in his address at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary (1886) of the foundation of Harvard College, "was the stuff out of which fortunate ancestors are made, and twenty-five years ago their sons showed in no diminished measure the qualities of the breed." Those sons have now in their turn been the progenitors of a valid race, as the services of Harvard's sons in the recent Great War loudly proclaim. In the first four lines of the second stanza of Lowell's immortal Ode recited at the Harvard Commemoration in July, 1865, he exalts the teachings of Harvard College through six generations, and the fruitage of those teachings:

> Today our Reverend Mother welcomes back
> Her wisest scholars, those who understood
> The deeper teaching of her mystic tome,
> And offered their fresh lives to make it good:

When President James Walker, about 1856, asked Lowell what his notion of a university was, he answered, "A university is a place where nothing useful is taught; but a university is possible only where a man may get his livelihood by digging Sanskrit roots." In his admirable oration at Harvard's two hundred and fiftieth anniversary he explains what he meant by that somewhat cryptic statement. "What I meant was that the highest office of the somewhat complex thing so named (a university) was to distribute the true bread of life, the pane degli angeli as Dante

called it, and to breed an appetite for it; but that it should also have the means and appliances for teaching everything."

Although Lowell was a delighted observer of trees, flowers, birds, and landscape, and thoroughly understood the play of the human imagination in poetry, drama, and the fine arts, his education and experience left him at sixty years without even an elementary training in any exact science, and without knowledge of the great part played by the imagination in scientific research, or perception of the oneness or identity of modern methods of advancing knowledge in all fields of inquiry. These personal limitations considered, how splendid is this conception of the function of a university:

"Let the Humanities be maintained undiminished in their ancient right. Leave in their traditional preëminence those arts that were rightly called liberal; those studies that kindle the imagination, and through it irradiate the reason; those studies that manumitted the modern mind; those in which the brains of finest temper have found alike their stimulus and their repose, taught by them that the power of intellect is heightened in proportion as it is made gracious by measure and symmetry. Give us science, too, but give first of all, and last of all, the science that ennobles life and makes it generous."

Although Lowell says of himself that he was "by temperament and education of a conservative turn," he was all his life a stout believer in democracy of the town-meeting sort; but he sometimes had qualms about its tendency to materialism, and its slowness in the centurial process of developing civilization. How high his standards for democracy were appears in the following passage from his Harvard anniversary address:

"Democracy must show its capacity for producing not a higher average man, but the highest possible types of manhood in all its manifold varieties, or it is a failure. No matter what it does for the body, if it do not in some sort satisfy that inextinguishable passion of the soul for something that lifts life away from prose, from the common and the vulgar, it is a failure. Unless it know how to make itself gracious and winning, it is a failure. Has it done this? Is it doing this? Or trying to do it?"

These words suggest the reasons why democracies must have universities.

THE RETURNING

LINES IN COMMEMORATION OF

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

BY

PERCY MacKAYE

I

"Weak-winged is song," he said:
Weak to adventure that "clear-ethered height"
Where memory stars the shining dead
Who stilled their hearts to right
Our human wrong;
Yet his own words were strong
To rise on wings beyond his time and place
And hallow those dead heroes with the grace
Of after-living song,
Enlarging this hall
Of Harvard men to be a shrine for all
Who reverence the valor of our race.

So also one
At Gettysburg recalled what the great dead had done:
"The world," said he, "will little note
What we say here."
And still the simple words he said so clear
Abide with those deeds, to be
For both a mingled immortality.

II

But whether in song or action
The dumb life leaves no seed;
Within all outward deed
The word of God is fate;
And only the soul articulate
Survives, to breed
New vital sons of God

Where still, above the turned-down sod,
The lyric scholar lives beyond his letters,
The patriot above his faction,
The freeman through all fetters.

III

So *he* survives — Lowell, our patriot,
Freeman and lyric scholar: not
Because his name, of honored line,
Is graven golden on another age
Among recorded lives
On hoarded scripts, in husht archives
Of academe and nation;
Not in dull homage to a shrine
Of bookworm cult or worldly heritage
We give today his birth commemoration:
But because his spirit wrought
Its image on surviving thought,
An image, cast from its clay mould,
To rise in clean, unrusting gold:
The mind, whose many-darting prism
Resolves in reason's lucid white;
The heart, wherein no hidden schism
Warps sense of beauty from the sense of right,
But where — in one clear-burning, human light—
Are welded poetry and patriotism.
So Lowell, outlasting the years,
Stands forth — no sanctum statue, but a man
Whom all his human peers
Honor as artist and American.

IV

For many a glowing ember
Stirred from the quiet
Hearth-light of his fancy, to riot
And gleam in the dusk, we remember
The stroke of the pen that stirred them;
And the songs of his Beaver Brook
In April awaking —
The Elmwood robins that heard them
Sang them again in the book

Of songs he was making,
And again in the after-spring
Of our remembering.

With quips and facile sallies
Of fable and of wit,
He strolled with Horace through the Harvard alleys,
Or stared with Dante in the Ninefold Pit,
Emerging from the imaginary realm
Of antique bard and shade
To play the Yankee Pindar, unafraid
To hurl his strophes in the roaring blast
Of war, or pensive, when the storm had passed,
To elegize the centenary elm.
Meanwhile
The early summer lightnings of his style
Matured the singeing fire
Of their electric ire,
Where all the native laughter of his soul
Leaping, to roll
And crackle with indigenous mirth and scorn,
Burst — when Hosea Biglow he was born.

V

The fleeting lines forbid
To follow, year by ripening year,
The stately footsteps of that sure career,
Where on the singer fell the statesman's cloak,
And where the scholar-artist stood amid
His peers of Europe, and bespoke
Our country's character.
In London and Madrid
The tokens of his mission still aver
His rich felicity, and still
In Cambridge, between Shady Hill
And Elmwood, the remembering air
Is fragrant of our Friend of Learning there.

VI

But more than all endeared to memory
Of varied life and long,
His most enduring substance is a song —

Itself an ode and elegy
Commemorating the inspired dead
Who — even as he —
Survive their dark interment; and for us,
Inseparable from all he wrought or said,
Still rise illustrious
The words he spoke of those who, gone before,
Came living homeward from heroic war.

VII

And now again they come;
Again, in proud mortality,
Homeward once more
They march with unvainglorious Victory
And muted drum
Rolling the pageant of a vaster stage —
The heroes of our age:
Our country's soul perennial!

And now once more, O now —
In that "clear-ethered" hall
Of Memory and of Exhortation seated,
How those great words with which he greeted
Our fathers still resound, and how
It stirs us to surmise
The exultation in his eyes,
And from his lips the lyric reverence,
As he might now greet *these* —
These men who bore America overseas:
Armies, that were the righteous eloquence
Of peace; soul-swords, oracular of truth;
Battalions that were ballads of wild youth;
Dun khaki boys, who sowed the mud fields pied
With blue and white and red of flowering pride
Rooted in justice: Those, returning now —
The live, and living dead — are they who left
The dreams of their civilian years,
Their work at loom and desk and plough,
Self-choosers, through their chosen peers,
To yoke themselves to help set Freedom free —
Conscripts of Conscience, Duty's grenadiers:
Young New World Jasons, banded oversea

With allied hearts sore wearied out,
Whose van at Château-Thierry cleft
The Prussian Dragon through his iron snout,
Wresting the Golden Fleece of Liberty
To clothe the world's bereft.

VIII

What patriot pride —
Not counterfeited by the noisy clan
Who toss at coins to make the Eagle scream,
But that unravished dream
And love of country which is faith in Man —
Lowell might feel, a prophet justified,
To hail these men, and the victorious
Vow they redeemed for us: —
Renouncing neutral will,
To know one faith — and live it,
To share one life — and give it:
That choice they made and kept, 't is ours to fulfil!

IX

Yet how fulfil the test? —
"He is a slave, who dares not be
In the right with two or three,"
'T was Lowell said; and they who know the zest
Of battling, single-handed, for the best
The multitudes disdain,
Facing their whips to earn them their own gain,
Will sanction that brave wisdom. — Yes;
But O, the large delight,
The majesty of gladness, and excess
Of splendor, when the multitudes are *right!*

X

Then, then — with all one's spirit bended tense
To lean against the tide for liberty —
Sudden the awful tide itself, immense,
Lunar with mystic life-birth, turns to sea:
Then — as a swimmer, caught from undertow,
Who yields, all free,

His body to the goalward billow, so
The one will yields its atom, in the shoal
Of multitudinous life-will, toward the goal
Of tidal Freedom. — There,
In strange mid-sea,
Between the dartling northern lights of death
And the living rim of sunrise, half aware —
Up from eternity —
He feels the spirit breath
Of the lost, the ever-sought, the risen Atlantis,
Island of Aspiration,
Whose beauty's fragrance, like a fronded plant, is
Vocal with manifold, blended murmurings:
Isle of the Lost — where souls of tribe and nation
Commingling lose themselves, and losing, so
Find one another
By the secret springs
Of common yearning, and in one heart-glow
Embrace — brother with brother.

XI

By some such deep-sea sense
And vision — dimly seen — of beauty's permanence:
In fellowship, born of death's nearness,
In friendship of a mutual will,
We all have felt the common dearness
Of her we call Our Country deeply instil
Our concept of mankind. The least of these
Who comes with Glory home across the seas
Has felt the deep communion. O, let all
Hold fast that communal
Faith, and let not the niggling partisan
Obscure the patriot's larger love of man,
Or seek the cure of war in sectional cant.
The statesman-singer we commemorate
Was militant
For song that served the stars beyond the state. —
The stars still beckon from the blue beyond:
The bleeding stripes beneath are borne
On arms of valor, that has torn
The tyrant from his seat, and struck his bond

Of terror from the world. And now the world, that waits
Our ministration, hails in dawning wonder
The orbit of a galaxy of states,
For what the stars have joined earth shall not put asunder.

ADDRESS

By BLISS PERRY

Professor of English Literature in Harvard University

Two Harvard men, teachers of English in the University of North Carolina, have recently published a new kind of text-book for undergraduates. Abandoning the conventional survey of literary types and the examination of literary history in the narrow sense of those words, they present a program of ideas, the dominant ideas of successive epochs in the life of England and America. They direct the attention of the young student, not so much to canons of art as to noteworthy expressions of communal thought and feeling, to the problems of self-government, of noble discipline, of ordered liberty. The title of this book is "The Great Tradition." The fundamental idealism of the Anglo-Saxon race is illustrated by passages from Bacon and Raleigh, Spenser and Shakespeare. But William Bradford, as well as Cromwell and Milton, is chosen to represent the seventeenth-century struggle for faith and freedom. In the eighteenth century, Washington and Jefferson and Thomas Paine appear side by side with Burke and Burns and Wordsworth. Shelley and Byron, Tennyson and Carlyle are here, of course, but with them are John Stuart Mill and John Bright and John Morley. There are noble passages from Webster and Emerson, from Lowell and Walt Whitman and Lincoln, and finally, from the eloquent lips of living men, — from Lloyd George and Arthur Balfour and Viscount Grey and President Wilson, — there are pleas for international honor and international justice and for a commonwealth of free nations.

It is a magnificent story, this record of Anglo-Saxon idealism during four hundred years. The six or seven hundred pages of the book which I have mentioned are indeed rich in purely literary material; in the illustration of the temper of historic periods; in

the exhibition of changes in language and in literary forms. The lover of sheer beauty in words, the analyzer of literary types, the student of biography, find here ample material for their special investigations. But the stress is laid, not so much upon the quality of individual genius, as upon the political and moral instincts of the English-speaking races, their long fight for liberty and democracy, their endeavor to establish the terms upon which men may live together in society. And precisely here, I take it, is the significance of the pages which Professors Greenlaw and Hanford assign to James Russell Lowell. The man whom we commemorate tonight played his part in the evolution which has transformed the Elizabethan Englishman into the twentieth-century American. Lowell was an inheritor and an enricher of the Great Tradition.

This does not mean that he did not know whether he was American or English. He wrote in 1866 of certain Englishmen: "They seem to forget that more than half the people of the North have roots, as I have, that run down more than two hundred years deep into this new-world soil — that we have not a thought nor a hope that is not American." In 1876, when his political independence made him the target of criticism, he replied indignantly: "These fellows have no notion what love of country means. It is in my very blood and bones. If I am not an American, who ever was?"

It remains true, nevertheless, that Lowell's life and his best writing are keyed to that instinct of personal discipline and civic responsibility which characterized the seventeenth-century emigrants from England. These successors of Roger Ascham and Thomas Elyot and Philip Sidney were Puritanic, moralistic, practical; and with their "faith in God, faith in man and faith in work" they built an empire. Lowell's own mind, like Franklin's, like Lincoln's, had a shrewd sense of what concerns the common interests of all. The inscription beneath his bust on the exterior of Massachusetts Hall runs as follows: "Patriot, scholar, orator, poet, public servant." Those words begin and end upon that civic note which is heard in all of Lowell's greater utterances. It has been the dominant note of much of the American writing that has endured. And it is by virtue of this note, touched so passionately, so nobly, throughout a long life, that Lowell belongs to the elect company of public souls.

No doubt we have had in this country distinguished practi-

tioners of literature who have stood mainly or wholly outside the line of the Great Tradition. They drew their inspiration elsewhere. Poe, for example, is not of the company; Hawthorne, in his lonelier moods, is scarcely of the company. In purely literary fame, these names may be held to outrank the name of James Russell Lowell; as Emerson outranks him, of course, in range of vision, Longfellow in craftsmanship, and Walt Whitman in sheer power of emotion and of phrase. But it happens that Lowell stands with both Emerson and Whitman in the very centre of that group of poets and prose-men who have been inspired by the American idea. They were all, as we say proudly nowadays, "in the service," and the particular rank they may have chanced to win is a relatively insignificant question, except to critics and historians.

The centenary of the birth of a writer who reached threescore and ten is usually ill-timed for a proper perspective of his work. A generation has elapsed since his death. Fashions have changed; writers, like bits of old furniture, have had time to "go out" and not time enough to come in again. George Eliot and Ruskin, for instance, whose centenaries fall in this year, suffer the dark reproach of having been "Victorians." The centenaries of Hawthorne and Longfellow and Whittier were celebrated at a period of comparative indifference to their significance. But if the present moment is still too near to Lowell's lifetime to afford a desirable literary perspective, a moral touchstone of his worth is close at hand. In this hour of heightened national consciousness, when we are all absorbed with the part which the English-speaking races are playing in the service of the world, we may surely ask whether Lowell's mind kept faith with his blood and with his citizenship, or whether, like many a creator of exotic, hybrid beauty, he remained an alien in the spiritual commonwealth, a homeless, masterless man.

No one needs to speak in Cambridge of Lowell's devotion to the community in which he was born and in which he had the good fortune to die. In some of his most delightful pages he has recorded his affection for it. Yonder in the alcoves of Harvard Hall, then the college Library, he discovered many an author unrepresented among his father's books at Elmwood. In University Hall he attended chapel — occasionally. In the open space between

Hollis and Holden he read his Commemoration Ode. He wrote to President Hill in 1863: "Something ought to be done about the trees in the Yard." He loved the place. It was here in Sanders Theatre that he pronounced his memorable address at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the College, — an address rich in historic background, and not without solicitude for the future of his favorite humanistic studies, — a solicitude, some will think, only too well justified. "Cambridge at all times is full of ghosts," said Emerson. But no ghost from the past, flitting along the Old Road from Elmwood to the Yard, and haunting the bleak lecture-rooms where it had recited as a careless boy and taught wearily as a man, could wear a more quizzical and friendly aspect than Lowell's. He commonly spoke of his life as a professor with whimsical disparagement, as Henry Adams wrote of his own teaching with a somewhat cynical disparagement. But the fact is that both of these self-depreciating New Englanders were stimulating and valuable teachers. From his happily idle boyhood to the close of his fruitful career, Lowell's loyalty to Cambridge and Harvard was unalterable. Other tastes changed after wider experience with the world. He even preferred, at last, the English blackbird to the American bobolink, but the Harvard Quinquennial Catalogue never lost its savor, and in the full tide of his social success in London he still thought that the society he had enjoyed at the Saturday Club was the best society in the world. To deracinate Lowell was impossible, and it was for this very reason that he became so serviceable an international personage. You knew where he stood. It was not for nothing that his roots ran down two hundred years deep. He was the incarnation of his native soil.

Lowell has recently been described, together with Whittier, Emerson, and others, as an "English provincial poet, — in the sense that America was still a literary province of the mother country." To this amazing statement one can only rejoin that if "The Biglow Papers," the "Harvard Commemoration Ode," "Under the Old Elm," the "Fourth of July Ode," and the Agassiz elegy are English provincial poetry, most of us need a new map and a new vocabulary. Of both series of "Biglow Papers" we may surely exclaim, as did Quintilian concerning early Roman satire, "This is wholly ours." It is true that Lowell, like every

young poet of his generation, had steeped himself in Spenser and the other Elizabethans. They were his literary ancestors by as indisputable an inheritance as a Masefield or a Kipling could claim. He had been brought up to revere Pope. Then he surrendered to Wordsworth and Keats and Shelley, and his earlier verses, like the early work of Tennyson, are full of echoes of other men's music. It is also true that in spite of his cleverness in versifying, or perhaps because of it, he usually showed little inventiveness in shaping new poetic patterns. His tastes were conservative. He lacked that restless technical curiosity which spurred Poe and Whitman to experiment with new forms. But Lowell revealed early extraordinary gifts of improvisation, retaining the old tunes of English verse as the basis for his own strains of unpremeditated art. He wrote "A Fable for Critics" faster than he could have written it in prose. "Sir Launfal" was composed in two days, the "Commemoration Ode" in one.

It was this facile, copious, enthusiastic poet, not yet thirty, who grew hot over the Mexican War and poured forth his indignation in an unforgettable political satire such as no English provincial poet could possibly have written. What a weapon he had, and how it flashed in his hand, gleaming with wit and humor and irony, edged with scorn, and weighted with two hundred years of Puritan tradition concerning right and wrong! For that, after all, was the secret of its success. Great satire must have a standard; and Lowell revealed his in the very first number and in one line:

> 'T aint your eppylets an' feathers
> *Make the thing a grain more right.*

Some readers today dislike the Yankee dialect of these verses. Some think Lowell struck too hard; but they forget Grant's characterization of the Mexican War as "one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation." There are critics who think the First Series of "Biglow Papers" too sectional; an exhibition of New England's ancient tendency towards nullification of the national will. No doubt Lowell underestimated the real strength of the advocates of national expansion at any cost. Parson Wilbur thought, you remember, that

> All this big talk of our destinies
> Is half on it ign'ance an' t' other half rum.

Neither ignorance nor rum was responsible for the invasion of Belgium; but at least one can say that the political philosophy which justifies forcible annexation of territory is taught today in fewer universities than were teaching it up to 1914. Poets are apt to have the last word, even in politics.

The war with Mexico was only an episode in the expansion of the slave power; the fundamental test of American institutions came in the War for the Union. Here again Lowell touched the heart of the great issue. The Second Series of "Biglow Papers" is more uneven than the First. There is less humor and more of whimsicality. But the dialogue between "the Moniment and the Bridge," "Jonathan to John," and above all, the tenth number, "Mr. Hosea Biglow to the Editor of the Atlantic Monthly," show the full sweep of Lowell's power. Here are pride of country, passion of personal sorrow, tenderness, idyllic beauty, magic of word and phrase.

Never again, save in passages of the memorial odes written after the war, was Lowell more completely the poet. For it is well known that his was a divided nature, so variously endowed that complete integration was difficult, and that the circumstances of his career prevented that steady concentration of powers which poetry demands. She is proverbially the most jealous of mistresses, and Lowell could not render a constant allegiance. At thirty his friends thought of him, rightly enough, as primarily a poet; but in the next fifteen years he had become a professor, had devoted long periods to study in Europe, had published prose essays, had turned editor, first of the *Atlantic,* then of the *North American Review,* and was writing political articles that guided public opinion in the North. To use a phrase then beginning to come into general use, he was now a "man of letters." But during the Civil War, I believe he thought of himself as simply a citizen of the Union. His general reputation, won in many fields, gave weight to what he wrote as a publicist. His editorials were one more evidence of the central pull of the Great Tradition: it steadied his judgment, clarified his vision, kept his rudder true.

Lowell's political papers during this period, although now little read, have been praised by Mr. James Ford Rhodes as an exact estimate of public sentiment, as voicing in energetic diction the mass of the common people of the North. Lincoln wrote to thank

him for one of them, adding, "I fear I am not quite worthy of all which is therein kindly said of me personally." Luckily Lincoln never saw an earlier letter in which Lowell thought that "an ounce of Frémont is worth a pound of long Abraham." The fact is that Lowell, like most men of the "Brahmin caste," came slowly to a recognition of Lincoln's true quality. Motley, watching events from Vienna, had a better perspective than Boston then afforded. Even Mr. Norton, Lowell's dear friend and associate upon the *North American Review,* thought in 1862 that the President was timid, vacillating, and secretive, and, what now seems a queerer judgment still, that he wrote very poor English. But if the editors of the *North American* showed a typical Anglo-Saxon reluctance in yielding to the spell of a new political leadership, Lowell made full amends for it in that superb Lincoln strophe now inserted in the "Commemoration Ode," afterthought though it was, and not read at the celebration.

In this poem and in the various "Centennial Odes" composed ten years later, Lowell found an instrument exactly suited to his temperament and his technique. Loose in structure, copious in diction, swarming with imagery, these Odes gave ample scope for Lowell's swift gush of patriotic fervor, for the afflatus of the improviser, steadied by reverence for America's historic past. To a generation beginning to lose its taste for commemorative oratory, the Odes gave — and still give — the thrill of patriotic eloquence which Everett and Webster had communicated in the memorial epoch of 1826. The forms change, the function never dies.

The dozen years following the Civil War were also the period of Lowell's greatest productiveness in prose. Tethered as he was to the duties of his professorship, and growling humorously over them, he managed nevertheless to put together volume after volume of essays that added greatly to his reputation, both here and in England. For it should be remembered that the honorary degrees of D.C.L. from Oxford and LL.D. from Cambridge were bestowed upon Lowell in 1873 and 1874; long before anyone had thought of him as Minister to England, and only a little more than ten years after he had printed his indignant lines about

> The old J. B.
> A-crowdin' you and me.

J. B. seemed to like them! A part of Lowell's full harvest of prose sprang from that habit of enormous reading which he had indulged since boyhood. He liked to think of himself as "one of the last of the great readers"; and though he was not that, of course, there was nevertheless something of the seventeenth-century tradition in his gluttony of books. The very sight and touch and smell of them were one of his pieties. He had written from Elmwood in 1861; "I am back again in the place I love best. I am sitting in my old garret, at my old desk, smoking my old pipe and loving my old friends." That is the way book-lovers still picture Lowell — the Lowell of the "Letters" — and though it is only a half-length portrait of him, it is not a false one. He drew upon his ripe stock of reading for his College lectures, and from the lectures, in turn, came many of the essays. Wide as the reading was in various languages, it was mainly in the field of "belles-lettres." Lowell had little or no interest in science or philosophy. Upon one side of his complex nature he was simply a book-man like Charles Lamb, and like Lamb he was tempted to think that books about subjects that did not interest him were not really books at all.

Recent critics have seemed somewhat disturbed over Lowell's scholarship. He once said of Longfellow: "Mr. Longfellow is not a scholar in the German sense of the word, — that is to say, he is no pedant, but he certainly is a scholar in another and perhaps a higher sense. I mean in range of acquirement and the flavor that comes with it." Those words might have been written of himself. It is sixty-five years since Lowell was appointed to his professorship at Harvard, and during this long period erudition has not been idle here. It is quite possible that the university possesses today a better Dante scholar than Lowell, a better scholar in Old French, a better Chaucer scholar, a better Shakespeare scholar. But it is certain that if our Division of Modern Languages were called upon to produce a volume of essays matching in human interest one of Lowell's volumes drawn from these various fields, we should be obliged, first, to organize a syndicate, and second, to accept defeat with as good grace as possible.

Contemporary critics have also betrayed a certain concern for some aspects of Lowell's criticism. Is it always penetrating, they ask? Did he think his critical problems through? Did he have

a body of doctrine, a general thesis to maintain? Did he always keep to the business in hand? Candor compels the admission that he often had no thesis to maintain: he invented them as he went along. Sometimes he was a mere guesser, not a clairvoyant. We have had only one Coleridge. Lowell's essay on Wordsworth is not as illuminating as Walter Pater's. The essay on Gray is not as well ordered as Arnold's. The essay on Thoreau is quite as unsatisfactory as Stevenson's. It is true that the famous longer essays on Dante, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Dryden, Milton, are full of irrelevant matter, of facile delightful talk which leads nowhere in particular. It is true, finally, that a deeper interest in philosophy and science might have made Lowell's criticism more fruitful; that he blazed no new paths in critical method; that he overlooked many of the significant literary movements of his own time in his own country.

But when one has said all this, even as brilliantly as Mr. Brownell has phrased it, one has failed to answer the pertinent question: "Why, in spite of these defects, were Lowell's essays read with such pleasure by so many intelligent persons on both sides of the Atlantic, and why are they read still?" The answer is to be found in the whole tradition of the English bookish essay, from the first appearance of Florio's translation of Montaigne down to the present hour. That tradition has always welcomed copious, well-informed, enthusiastic, disorderly, and affectionate talk about books. It demands gusto rather than strict method, discursiveness rather than concision, abundance of matter rather than mere neatness of design. "Here is God's plenty!" cried Dryden in his old age, as he opened once more his beloved Chaucer; and in Lowell's essays there is surely "God's plenty" for a book-lover. Everyone praises "My Garden Acquaintance," "A Good Word for Winter," "On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners" as perfect types of the English familiar essay. But all of Lowell's essays are discursive and familiar. They are to be measured, not by the standards of modern French criticism, — which is admittedly more deft, more delicate, more logical than ours, — but by the unchartered freedom which the English-speaking races have desired in their conversations about old authors for three hundred years. After all,

> There are nine-and-sixty ways of constructing tribal lays
> And every single one of them is right.

Lowell, like the rest of us, is to be tested by what he had, not by what he lacked.

His reputation as a talker about books and men was greatly enhanced by the addresses delivered during his service as Minister to England. Henry James once described Lowell's career in London as a tribute to the dominion of style. It was even more a triumph of character, but the style of these addresses is undeniable. Upon countless public occasions the American Minister was called upon to say the fitting word; and he deserved the quaint praise which Thomas Benton bestowed upon Chief Justice Marshall, as "a gentleman of finished breeding, of winning and prepossessing talk, and just as much mind as the occasion required him to show." I cannot think that Lowell spoke any better when unveiling a bust in Westminster Abbey than he did at the Academy dinners in Ashfield, Massachusetts, where he had Mr. Curtis and Mr. Norton to set the pace; he was always adequate, always witty and wise; and some of the addresses in England, notably the one on "Democracy" given in Birmingham in 1884, may fairly be called epoch-making in their good fortune of explaining America to Europe. Lowell had his annoyances like all ambassadors; there were dull dinners as well as pleasant ones; there were professional Irishmen to be placated, solemn despatches to be sent to Washington. Yet, like Mr. Phelps and Mr. Bayard and Mr. Choate and the lamented Walter Page in later years, this gentleman, untrained in professional diplomacy, accomplished an enduring work. Without a trace of the conventional "hands across the sea" banality, without either subservience or jingoism, he helped teach the two nations mutual respect and confidence, and thirty years later, when England and America essayed a common task in safeguarding civilization, that old anchor held.

This cumulative quality of Lowell's achievement is impressive as one reviews his career. His most thoughtful, though not his most eloquent verse, his richest vein of letter-writing, his most influential addresses to the public, came toward the close of his life. Precocious as was his gift for expression, and versatile and brilliant as had been his productiveness in the 1848 era, he was true to his Anglo-Saxon stock in being more effective at seventy than he had been at thirty. He was one of the men who die learning, and who therefore are scarcely thought of as dying at all. I

am not sure that we may not say of him to-day, as Thoreau said of John Brown, "He is more alive than ever he was." Certainly the type of Americanism which Lowell represented has grown steadily more interesting to the European world, and has revealed itself increasingly as a factor to be reckoned with in the world of the future. Always responsive to his environment, always ready to advance, he faced the new political issues at the close of the century with the same courage and sagacity that had marked his conduct in the eighteen-forties. You remember his answer to Guizot's question: "How long do you think the American Republic will endure?" "So long," replied Lowell, "as the ideas of its founders continue to be dominant"; and he added that by "ideas" he meant "the traditions of their race in government and morals." Yet the conservatism revealed in this reply was blended with audacity, — the inherited audacity of the pioneer. No line of Lowell's has been more often quoted in this hall than the line about the futility of attempting to open the "Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key." Those words were written in 1844. And here, in a sentence written forty-two years afterward, is a description of organized human society which voices the precise hope of forward-looking minds in Europe and America at this very hour: "The basis of all society is the putting of the force of all at the disposal of all, by means of some arrangement assented to by all, for the protection of all, and this under certain prescribed forms." Like Jefferson, like Lincoln, like Theodore Roosevelt at his noblest, Lowell dared to use the word "all."

Such men are not forgotten. As long as June days come and the bobolink's song "runs down, a brook of laughter, through the air"; as long as a few scholars are content to sit in the old garret with the old books, and close the books, at times, to think of old friends; as long as the memory of brave boys makes the "eyes cloud up for rain"; as long as Americans still cry in their hearts "O beautiful, my country!" the name of James Russell Lowell will be remembered as the inheritor and enricher of a great tradition.

This meeting took the place of the regular winter meeting. The attendance was very large, occupying nearly every seat in the auditorium and on the stage, which was extended for the occasion. Many distinguished guests were present, including a considerable representation from the Lowell family. Admission was by ticket except to the second balcony, which was open to the public. The committee of arrangements consisted of William Roscoe Thayer (Chairman), Hollis R. Bailey, Worthington C. Ford, and George Hodges. Samuel F. Batchelder was chief usher.

During the afternoon, by the courtesy of Charles Henry Davis, the Lowell homestead, "Elmwood," was open to members of the Society; three hundred tickets of admission were also distributed to the public at the Cambridge Public Library, and were almost immediately exhausted. The house was in charge of Mrs. S. M. Gozzaldi, and Stoughton Bell was chief usher.

An exhibition of books, manuscripts, pictures, etc., relating to Lowell was arranged at the Widener Library by William C. Lane, and remained open to the public for a week.

The Society offered three prizes for the best essays on "Lowell as a Patriotic Citizen," by pupils of sixteen or over in the schools of Cambridge. The essays submitted were read by a jury consisting of William R. Thayer, Fred N. Robinson, and Prescott Evarts, who awarded the prizes as follows: First prize ($15), Mary M. Twomey; Second prize ($10), Ruth M. Miles; Honorable mention, Gladys R. Flint — all of the Cambridge High and Latin School.

FORTY-SEVENTH MEETING

THE FORTY-SEVENTH MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held on the evening of April 22, 1919, in the Paine Memorial Room of the Episcopal Theological School on Brattle Street.

The President called the meeting to order and the minutes of the last meeting were read and allowed.

There being no business to come before the Society, the following papers were then read, illustrated (with some difficulty) by the stereopticon, after which the meeting adjourned.

THE STREETS OF CAMBRIDGE

SOME ACCOUNT OF THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY

By Lewis Morey Hastings, *City Engineer*

The Rev. Horace Bushnell, a well-known divine and theologian of this country, wrote these rather remarkable words: "The road is that physical sign or symbol by which you will best understand any age or people. If they have no roads, they are savages, for the road is a type of civilized society. If you wish to know whether society is stagnant, learning scholastic, religion a dead formality, you may learn something by going into universities and libraries, but quite as much by looking at the roads; for if there is any motion to society, the road, which is the symbol of motion, will indicate the fact. When there is activity, or enlargement, or a liberalizing spirit of any kind, then there is intercourse and travel, and these require *roads!*"

If these words are true, then the extent and condition of the roads of a country may be regarded as an index of its progress, a kind of exponent of the power to which its civilization has been raised.

Thus the rough mountain paths, the desert camel caravan tracks, and the primitive unfinished ways which the ancient eastern peoples used for centuries, clearly typify the simple pastoral life and uncultured civilization which existed in those early times.

Later the mighty military spirit and civilization of the great Roman Empire, at its zenith during the first centuries of the Christian era, was well expressed by its system of military roads and viaducts reaching all parts of the Empire, then embracing nearly the entire civilized world, many ruins of which remain to this day objects of wonder and interest to all travellers.

And again, the more refined and cultured civilization of the French Republic is well typified by its system of carefully planned and highly finished national roads and highways.

But perhaps no better illustration can be given than that of our own country. When the Pilgrims landed on these shores, nearly three hundred years ago, they found only a crude and savage civilization and the most primitive means of communication — simply the natural

streams and such trails as the Indians' own feet had made. These means, however, had served the needs of the simple people for an unknown number of centuries. No progress had been made because the needs of the civilization did not require it. With the coming of the white man, however, a new civilization was introduced, which quickly led to the construction of highways and the establishment of ferries and fords at stream crossings.

Slowly, and by the expenditure of vast amounts of labor and money, these highways were extended and improved, the ferries and fords were replaced by bridges and viaducts, and the tremendous natural obstacles of immense distances, wide streams, and heavy grades found in many parts of the country were overcome, and works in highway construction of great magnitude commensurate with the wealth and civilization of the country have been carried out. By these means, the freest intercourse between all parts of the country in commerce, trade, and social life is now possible and easy, and the standards of living and the culture of the people have been correspondingly raised.

It is proposed, in the pages which follow, to show something of the way in which the great natural disadvantages of situation and topography, which existed in the original site chosen for the future town of Cambridge, were overcome, and a system of highways and bridges constructed adequate and convenient for local use, and now an important part of the highway system of the great metropolitan district.

EARLY HISTORY (1631–1775)

Prior to the decision of the little company led by Governor John Winthrop and Deputy-Governor Thomas Dudley, on December 28, 1630, to start on the banks of the Charles River a settlement soon to be known as "New Towne" and later as "Cambridge," other settlements had been formed in the near vicinity. Salem was founded in 1628; in June, 1629, Charlestown had been founded; while Boston, Dorchester, and Watertown had been founded and settlements begun early in 1630. These dates are important because the first highway to which the inhabitants of Newtowne had access was the "path from Watertown to Charlestown," so often referred to in the early town records. This way or path led from the center of Watertown to Charlestown, closely following the present lines of Mt. Auburn Street in Watertown and Cambridge Street (first called "Mill Street" and

afterward called "Cambridge Street" and "Road to the College" in Watertown) to Elmwood Avenue; thence following Elmwood Avenue, Brattle Street, Mason Street, and Kirkland Street in Cambridge, Washington Street in Somerville, and Main Street in Charlestown, to the Charlestown and Boston ferry established in 1631. This path from Watertown to Charlestown is undoubtedly the oldest way in Cambridge, and over it for at least four years — until the ferry at the foot of Dunster Street across Charles River was established — all the travel from Cambridge to Boston had to pass.[1]

The first mention of this way appears in the town records for December 2, 1633, as follows: "It is ordered that noe person whatsoever shall fell Anny Tree neer the Towne [ ] wthin the path wch goeth ffrom Wattertown to Charles towne uppon the fforfiture of ffive shillings for every tre soe ffeled."

The next way mentioned in the town records is under date of March 2, 1633/4, as follows: "Granted John Benjamin all the ground between John Masters his ground and Antho Couldbyes, provided that the windmill hill shall be reserved for the Town use, and a Cartway of two Rods wide unto the same." Fifty years later, or on January 26, 1684, this cartway was laid out by the town as follows: "It was then voted whether the highway running through Rich. Eccles field down to the windmill hill should be made an open highway, and it was voted in the affirmative." The highway here referred to was what is now known as Ash Street and Bath Street from Brattle Street to the old Town Landing (at Windmill Hill), and seems to be the first highway formally laid out as such by vote of the town.

Other streets were laid out at an early day, as is testified by William Wood in his *New England's Prospect* in 1633. He says, "Newtowne is one of the neatest and best compacted towns in New England, having many fair structures with many handsome contrived streets."

Another historian, writing in 1652, says of Cambridge, "The Town

[1] This ferry — the first attempt of the Cambridge folk to link themselves with the outside world — was originally extremely primitive. Dunster Street simply ended in the river mud, and so did the road on the opposite bank. At low tide this caused such unbearable discomfort that very soon a little wharf or "bridge" was built on the Cambridge side, and "a broad ladder" on the other, "for convenience of landing." The fare was "a penny over and a half-penny on lecture days." The first official keeper of the ferry was Joseph Cooke — probably selected because his land ran down to the marsh at, or close by, the ferry wharf. He was a very prominent citizen, a large landowner, selectman, town clerk, magistrate, and representative, and succeeded his brother George as captain of the train-band. He returned to England in 1658. (See Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 513.) — Ed.

is compact closely together within itself till of late years some few straggling houses have been built. . . . It hath well ordered streets and comely, completed with the faire building of Harvard College."

The following seem to have been the streets composing the early village, with the old and modern names:

Braintree Street, now called Harvard Street and Harvard Square.
Spring Street, now a part of Mt. Auburn Street.
Long Street, now called Winthrop Street.
Marsh Lane, now called South Street and part of Eliot Street.
Creek Lane, now called Brattle Square and part of Eliot Street.
Wood Street, now called Boylston Street.
Water Street, now called Dunster Street.
Crooked Street, now called Holyoke Street.

There were numerous other "lanes" and "ways" noted in the original records, many of which cannot now be identified on account of the meagre description given. Parts of Garden Street, Huron Avenue, and Vassal Lane formed the old "Highway to Fresh Pond." Garden Street, northerly of Huron Avenue, was called the "Highway to the Great Swamp."

The land lying south of the "Path from Watertown to Charlestown," and east of the "neat and compacted little village," with its eight short streets, was for a long time used almost entirely for cultivation and grass. Early in its history, in the year 1632, the town voted to impale or fence in this land, and a line of palings 9,487 feet long, extending from the village easterly to near the present location of the Boston & Albany (Grand Junction Branch) Railroad, was constructed and the cost borne by forty-two owners. About one thousand acres of land were enclosed by this paling, the location of the paling being substantially the same as the present line between Cambridge and Somerville. This impaled land was divided into lots of various sizes and apportioned to sundry householders of the village. Into this impaled land sundry ways were laid out.

One, leading from the village by what is now Arrow Street and Massachusetts Avenue to about where Pleasant Street now is located, was called the "Highway into the Neck." From this point, one way led southeasterly about on the line of the present Massachusetts Avenue to the edge of the marsh and was called the "Way to Pelham's Island,"[1] and another way led southwesterly following about the

[1] See under head of Main Street, page 53, for description of Pelham's Island.

present line of Putnam Avenue and was called the "Highway into the Little Neck." Another way went about on the line of Pleasant Street to Cottage Street, and thence led by a way skirting the uplands to near where Fort Washington now is, and was called the "Roade to the Oyster Banks." From the "Highway to the Neck," a way led to the northeast nearly on the present location of Dana Street and was called the "Highway to the Common Pales."

There were other small ways whose names suggested the pastoral character of occupations of many of the early inhabitants. "Back Lane," "Cow Yard Lane," and "Field Lane" were some of these located close to the little cluster of houses forming the early settlement.

As already stated, upon the founding of Newtowne in 1630, the "Path from Watertown to Charlestown" was already in use and provided a ready route for communication with the towns of Charlestown, Salem, and Boston. It was about 4¾ miles by this way to the Town House in Boston at the present site of the Old State House at Washington and State Streets.

Massachusetts Avenue

What is now called Massachusetts Avenue from Harvard Square to the Arlington line, and leading to Arlington, Lexington and the towns beyond, was long called the "Highway to Menotomy." It is not known when these settlements were first begun, but it must have been at a very early day. That the town then exercised control over the territory is shown by an order of the town dated January 14, 1638, that "no timber shall be felled beyond Menotomy river [Alewife Brook] without a warrant from the major part of the Townsmen."

What are now called Newton (then called "Cambridge Village") and Brighton (then called "Little Cambridge") were added to Newtowne in 1634, and in 1642 all the land lying upon Shawshine River and between that and Concord River and between that and Merrimac River, not formerly granted, was granted to Cambridge. This grant was confirmed March 7, 1643, and included Billerica, parts of Carlisle, Tewksbury, and Chelmsford, and all of Bedford, Lexington, and Arlington. Thus the bounds of Cambridge at that time (and until 1655, when Billerica was incorporated as a separate town) extended towards the north for a distance of about twenty miles, and included the considerable settlements of "Menotomy" (Arlington), "The Farms" (Lexington), Bedford and Billerica.

There is no doubt that the road or way connecting these villages with the center at Cambridge Court House (now Harvard Square) was laid out and in use at a very early date in substantially the same location as Massachusetts Avenue is to-day.

The practical inconvenience of so extensive a township, with the long distances it necessitated to travel to town meetings, church, etc., soon became apparent, and protests began to be made against it. The town records of a meeting held November 29, 1654, contain this rather quaint entry: "In ans. to a L're sent to the Towne ffrom or Neybours of Shaw Shine, Alias Bilracie, wherein they desire that whole tract of land may be disingaged from this place & be one Intire body of it selfe: the Towne consented to choose five persons — a Committee to treate & conclude with them concring yr request therein, at wch time was chosen Mr. Henry Dunster, Edw. Champney, Jno. Bridge, Edw. Goffe & Edw. Winship."

This request of the Shawshine people was granted, and an amicable agreement reached, and Billerica was incorporated as a town the following year, 1655. Lexington was incorporated in 1713 and Arlington was incorporated as "West Cambridge" in 1807. Newton was incorporated in 1688, and Brighton was incorporated in 1807.

From 1642 until 1655, then, Cambridge was at her zenith as far as territory was concerned. The setting off of the several towns left Cambridge less than her present area, and the seventeen miles of highway which connected this northern territory with the Cambridge Center in 1655 had in 1807 been reduced to about two and one-fourth miles in length to reach the limit of Cambridge territory at the Arlington line.

It may not be out of place here to recall the fact that it was over this road that Paul Revere made his famous "midnight ride," followed later by the British soldiers on their disastrous march to Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775. Lieutenant-Colonel Smith with 800 regulars landed at Lechmere Point the night before and in the early morning passed up this way from Beech Street in Cambridge to Lexington Green. Later in the day a detachment of reinforcements, consisting of about 1200 marines, under Lord Percy, entered Cambridge by the "Great Bridge" over Charles River, where the Anderson Bridge now is, and passed up the whole length of the way to Lexington, where they met the first detachment of Smith's in active retreat. Together they finished the return, with such speed as they could, leaving

the Menotomy Road at Beech Street on their way to Charlestown and safety.

In 1805 the Middlesex Turnpike was chartered, as is related in another place (p. 50), and the portion of the way from the Arlington line to Porter Square formed a part of that turnpike from 1805 to 1842, when it was made a county road; upon the incorporation of Cambridge as a city in 1846, the street passed to the control of the city as North Avenue; and in 1894 the entire way from Harvard Bridge, Cambridge, to Lexington was named Massachusetts Avenue.[1]

Boylston Street and the "Way from Cambridge to Roxbery"

It was early seen that it was desirable also to have direct means of communication with towns on the southerly side of Charles River — Dedham, Roxbury, Dorchester, and also Boston from the south side. The establishment of the ferry across the river at what is now Dunster Street not only united the two parts of Cambridge as it was then constituted — separated by the river — but gave the opportunity for more extended communication to the above-mentioned towns, through what was early known as "Muddy River Village," now Brookline, and by way of "The Neck" to the town of Boston, a distance of eight miles by this route from Harvard Square to the Boston Town House.

This meant the laying out of a way from the ferry to the Watertown-Roxbury road, and the first reference to it is, as follows, in the town records for 1638: "It is ordered in Respect of making a sufficient path from the south side of Charles River from Cambridge to Roxberie that the line shall lie right to the upland therefor that common lands that fall within [ ] line of Mr. Harlackinden's side shall belong to him, and his forever and in respect of which so much of his own land as falleth in the outside of the line, he resigneth up unto the Town's use; also in regard Mr. Harlackinden hath upon his own particular charge made a ditch he shall be freed from all [ ] about making a causey or any other charge to make that path sufficient, and his bounds to remain according to the rail and ditch now is on every side of his land."

Over this route the travel soon began to make its way, for on Octo-

[1] At the same date the names of the streets at the Boston end of the bridge — West Chester Park and its continuations to Edward Everett Square in Dorchester — were also changed to Massachusetts Avenue; so that this way is now said to be the longest single street in the Commonwealth.— Ed.

ber 25, 1640, the town of Boston ordered that a "Bridge be made at Muddy River, and Mr. Colburn, Elliot, and Oliver are appointed to see it done."

May 25, 1642, a committee from Boston was "appointed to join with Dedham, Cambridge, and Watertown to lay out highways from town to town through Boston lands at Muddy River."

Similar committees were appointed by Cambridge from time to time, and frequent reference to the matter is made in the town records, but no agreement seems to have been reached as to a formal laying out of the highway, although such a way was then in actual use.

On January 19, 1662, it is recorded in the Cambridge records that "Mr. John Stedman, Edd. Oakes, Thos. Fox, and Edward Shepard are appointed to attend the laying out of the highway from our bounds leading towards Roxbery, as the law directeth." This was the year of the construction of the "Great Bridge" over Charles River, at what is now Boylston Street. The committees of the towns still not agreeing with the Boston committee, referees were appointed, and on December 16, 1662, the referees reported that "We, William Park, John Peirpont, and Thomas Weld, chosen to determine the highway leading from Cambridge through Boston bounds, the committees between the two towns not agreeing, doe conclude that the way shall goe without the common fields by Goodman Devotion[1] and Goodman Stevens houses, and soe to Cambridge bounds as the ould way now runneth, whereunto the committee of Boston concurred, having left the same unto us."

The location as here given in Little Cambridge (now called Brighton) and Muddy River Village (now Brookline) has been well determined and followed the present location of Harvard Street, North Harvard Street, Cambridge Street, and Harvard Street in Brighton, and Harvard Street and Washington Street in Brookline. In Boston, the route followed the present location of Roxbury Street and Washington Street to the old Town House.

As the new bridge built in 1663 across Charles River was located some six hundred feet westerly of the old ferry, a portion of the old road and the "causie," as it was called, across the marsh, had to be

[1] The house here referred to as the "Goodman Devotion House" is still standing and is known as the "Edward Devotion House," home of the founder of Brookline schools, on Harvard Street near Coolidge Corner, Brookline. It is open to the public Saturday afternoons.

abandoned and located anew.[1] This relocation seems to have given rise to considerable controversy between the owners of the lands and the town, as frequent reference is made in the records of the town to the location of lands taken, payments for the same, etc. This matter seems finally to have been disposed of by a vote passed December 13, 1663, that "Mr. Edward Jackson, Edward Oakes, and Thomas Danforth are appointed by the Townsmen to lay out all necessary highways on the south side the water, and agree with the proprietors of the land for the same by exchange for common land or otherwise according to their discretion."

The location of this historic way has been further defined by seven milestones set in 1729 by P. Dudley, marking the route, three of which are still standing, together with a "parting stone," also set by P. Dudley in 1744 on Roxbury Street near Eliot Square, marking the junction of the ways to Boston, Dedham and Cambridge. These stones are indicated and numbered upon the accompanying map.

The old milestone now standing in the northeasterly corner of the burying ground near Harvard Square, marked "Boston 8 miles 1734 A. I." on its face and "Cambridge New Bridge 2¼ miles 1794" on its back, once stood on the easterly side of the old Court House in Harvard Square and marked the beginning of this highway to Boston.[2]

While the major part of this highway was outside of even the original limits of Cambridge, its history is of special interest because, for more than one hundred and fifty years, it was the route over which most of the travel from Cambridge to Boston, Roxbury, Dedham, and other towns passed.

[1] On a very beautiful and accurate chart of Boston Bay (including the Charles River); published in 1776 by the British Admiralty in their *Atlantic Neptune*, both the old and the new roads are shown. They run parallel for about half a mile and then gradually converge. It will be noted that Dunster Street (then appropriately called Water Street) which ran down to the ferry was for a generation the only artery of traffic to Boston. In dredging for the foundation of the Cambridge pier of the Anderson Bridge in 1913 the remains of an ancient corduroy road were uncovered, remarkably well preserved in the river mud. The logs extended down twenty feet below the present river bed and undoubtedly formed part of the "causie" of 1663. (See *Harvard Graduates Magazine*, xxi, 456.) This "Great Bridge" was well named. It was larger than any so far erected in the colony — a triumph of Cambridge initiative. Moreover, it was a distinctly handsome affair. As soon as completed, it was ordered "to be laid [i.e. painted] in oil and lead," suggesting a considerably higher degree of finish than might be looked for in those early days.— Ed.

[2] The initials "A. I." stand for Abraham Ireland, who placed this stone, just as "P. D." on the others of the series stand for Paul Dudley, who had placed them five years earlier. Ireland himself lies in the old burying ground near his milestone. He died in 1753, aged 80. Apparently he was not a native of Cambridge, for his gravestone records, "God brought him from a distant land." — Ed.

Gore Street and the Graves House

What is claimed to be the first house erected in Cambridge was built for the use of Thomas Graves, who came from England in July, 1629, to Salem, under an agreement with the Massachusetts Bay Company. Under this agreement, Mr. Graves was to receive fifty pounds a year and have a house and one hundred acres of land assigned to him and "to have a part thereof planted at the Company's charge." The one hundred acres of land with the house was located on what was soon called "Graves' Neck," afterwards Lechmere's Point, and now called East Cambridge, and Graves and family of wife and five children lived there a number of years.

In 1635 the house and land became the property of Atherton Haugh, who purchased more land, till in 1642 he owned about three hundred acres. In 1699 the widow of his grandson, Samuel Haugh, sold it to John Langdon, and in 1706 he sold it to Spencer Phipps, afterward Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts. A daughter of Spencer Phipps married Richard Lechmere, who on the death of his father-in-law in 1757 bought out the other heirs and so became owner of what was long known as "Lechmere Point."

The land upon which this house was built was entirely surrounded by marsh, covered at high tide with water, and was reached from the Watertown-Charlestown road by a bridge over Willis' Creek (Miller's River) and a causeway across the marsh, with a road leading to the house, which was on the northerly side of Spring Street between Third and Fourth Streets. This road and causeway played an important part in the movement of the British troops on April 18, 1775, when the eight hundred British soldiers from the Boston side were landed near the old Graves house, then standing, and marched over the road and causeway to the Milk Row Road, thence to the "road to Menotomy," and so on to Lexington and Concord. Later in the year 1775 and the early part of 1776, this old road was of great assistance in the work of fortifying the Point as a part of the Siege of Boston. The fort built here was considered the most important of any around Boston, and as such was carefully planned and armed with the larger cannon — even the causeway was protected by a small redoubt flanking it.

This road is shown upon a map of Boston and vicinity illustrating

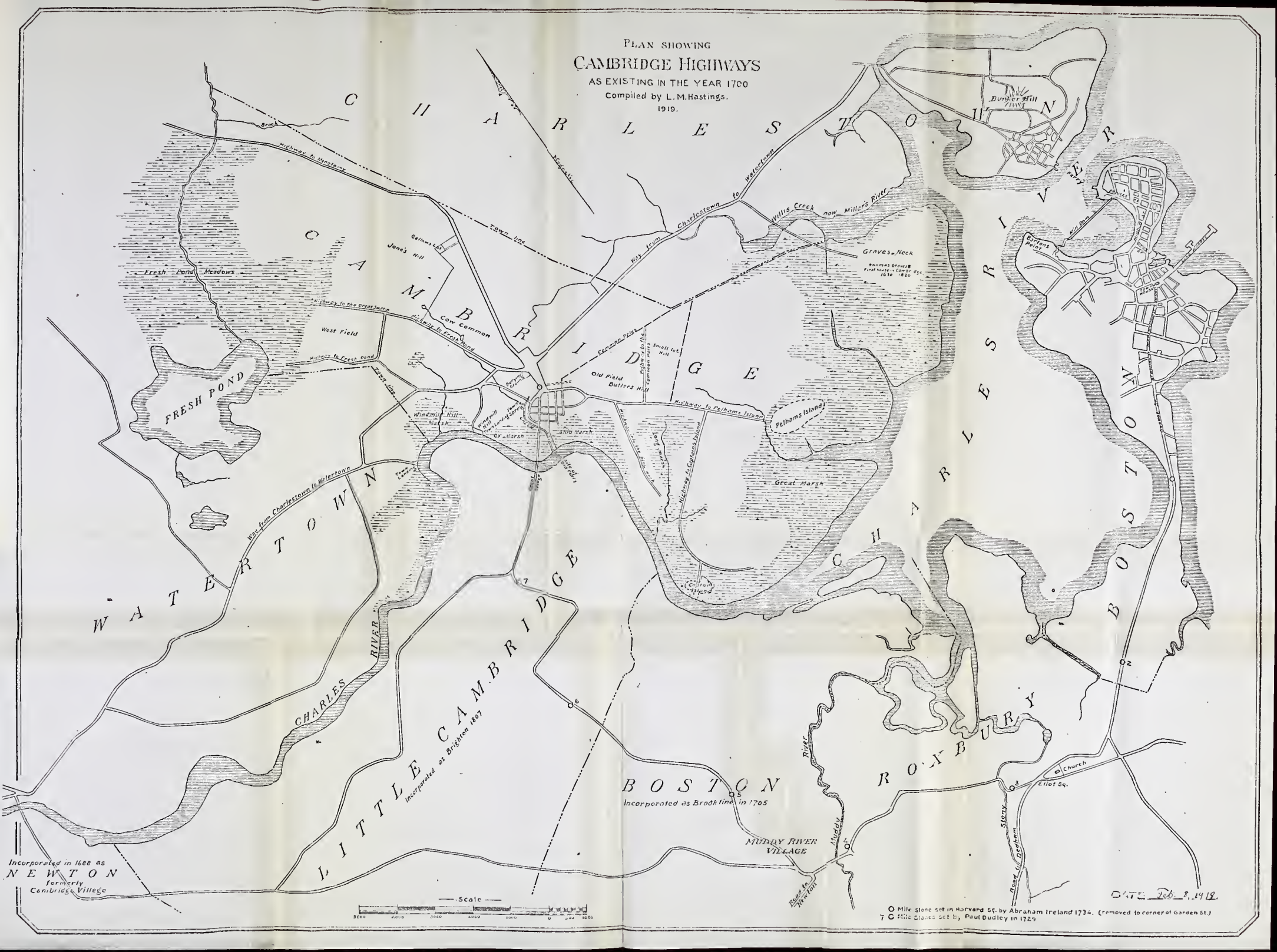
PLAN SHOWING

RIDGE HIGHW

TING IN THE YEAR 1

piled by L. M. Hastings.

1919.


PLAN SHOWING
CAMBRIDGE HIGHWAYS
AS EXISTING IN THE YEAR 1700
Compiled by L. M. Hastings.
1919.
CHARLESTOWN
CAMBRIDGE
WATERTOWN
LITTLE CAMBRIDGE
Incorporated as Brighton 1807
BOSTON
Incorporated as Brookline in 1705
ROXBURY
CHARLESTOWN
BOSTON
CHARLES RIVER
Bunker Hill
Charlestown
Boston
Ferry
Mill Pond
Bartons Point
Fresh Pond Meadows
Jone's Hill
Gallows Lot
Highway to Newton
Town line
Way from Charlestown to Watertown
Willis Creek now Miller's River
Graves Neck
Thomas Graves First Master in Camb. Esq. 1630 - 1820
Highway to the Great Swamp
Highway to Fresh Pond
West Field
Cow Common
FRESH POND
Common Pole
Small lot Hill
Highway to the Common Poles
Old Field
Butters Hill
Highway to Pelhams Island
Pelhams Island
Windmill Hill
Windmill Hill Town Landing Spring
Ox Marsh
Stony Marsh
Long Marsh
Highway to Gardens Island
Great Marsh
Way from Charlestown to Watertown
Town Landing
Old Ferry
Gardens Island
Muddy River
MUDDY RIVER VILLAGE
Road to Newton
Story
Road to Dedham
Church
Eliot Sq.
Incorporated in 1688 as NEWTON formerly Cambridge Village
Scale
5000 4000 3000 2000 1000 0 500 1000
DATE Feb. 8, 1918.
O Mile stone set in Harvard Sq. by Abraham Ireland 1734. (removed to corner of Garden St.)
7 C Mile Stones set by Paul Dudley in 1729

the account of the Siege of Boston by John Marshall in his *Life of George Washington*, published in 1807.[1]

The old Graves house, which was the occasion for the building of this road and causeway which helped to make so much history, stood until about 1820, when it was torn down. The old road and causeway probably formed a part of Medford Street, in Somerville, and Gore Street as now laid out.

Brattle Street

As previously stated, a part of what is now Brattle Street from Mason Street to Elmwood Avenue was in use prior to the settlement of Cambridge, forming a part of the original "Waye from Watertown to Charlestown." The portion between Harvard Square and Mason Street must have been in use at a very early day, for the Rev. William Brattle's family, for whom the street was named, first located on the street about 1696 and for more than a century the family lived there.

Exactly when this portion of Brattle Street was opened for travel is not known, but in 1636 a causeway and foot bridge were ordered constructed across the creek and canal about at the westerly end of Spring Street (now a part of Mt. Auburn Street), so as to give access to the town spring or shallow well, which was a short distance south of the present line of Brattle Street — at or very near the present location of Brattle Hall, next the old Brattle house.

Later the road was extended until it joined the old Watertown road at Mason Street, where for many years a gate was located. The entire street soon became built up with large and imposing houses, and, as many of the owners manifested strong British sympathies during the Revolutionary period, it came to be known as "Tory Row." Since these Tories were members of the unpopular Church of England it was also dubbed "Church Row."

The portion of the street from "the North Easterly corner of Dr. Lowell's garden" (Elmwood Avenue) to "Wyeth's Sign Post," being its junction with Mt. Auburn Street, was laid out by the county as a county road in September, 1812. The whole street as laid out was narrow and in places crooked, and in addition the Cambridge Rail-

[1] This map is based on the unreliable map of Pelham of 1776 and must be accepted with caution. The Gore Street Bridge here referred to does not seem to have been built until 1815. The bridge used by the British was probably some half mile farther up the river where it had narrowed to a mere brook. The "Milk Row Road" is now Somerville Avenue.— Ed.

road Company had built a horse car track its entire length, running to Watertown.[1]

In 1869 a strong movement was begun to widen and straighten the street and a plan was prepared for the proposed improvement. Great opposition to this widening was developed, Prof. Longfellow, Prof. Lowell, and other influential men strongly opposing it; but in spite of this, the order for the widening was adopted December 14, 1870, making the street sixty feet wide from Harvard Square to Elmwood Avenue. One regrettable result of this widening was the removal of an old chestnut tree which then stood at the westerly side of Brattle Street just north of Story Street. This was the "Spreading Chestnut Tree" referred to in Longfellow's poem, "The Village Blacksmith," familiar to every schoolboy.

> Under a spreading chestnut tree
> The Village Smithy stands.
> The smith, a mighty man is he,
> With large and sinewy hands.

The part of Brattle Street from Elmwood Avenue to Mt. Auburn Street, laid out by the county in 1812 forty-nine and one-half feet wide, was widened to sixty feet in 1889.

Vassal Lane

This is another street which bears a name common in Cambridge history before the Revolutionary War. It was a way or lane in common use at a very early day and seems then to have been generally called "Highway to Great Swamp." A part of this way or lane is shown on an old and very interesting plan, one of the earliest relating to Cambridge found on record, drawn by Abraham Fuller and dated April 14, 1760, recorded Book 167, Page 468, East Cambridge Registry of Deeds. This shows the lane from its present junction with Sparks Street to near Fresh Pond, also a portion of Brattle Street and Sparks Street, all very correct to scale. The lane was laid out by the city and widened to forty feet in 1888.

[1] In 1825 the street was described as "a mere lane, with neither pavement nor sidewalk, and for a great part of the year a continuous quagmire, with no means of communication with the great world except by a two-horse stage-coach twice a day." (See A. P. Peabody, *Harvard Graduates Whom I Have Known*, 64.) The description probably applies to most Cambridge streets of that period.— Ed.

Inman Street

The land upon which the present City Hall now stands, together with a large tract in the rear, once formed a part of what was long known as the Ralph Inman estate. Ralph Inman came from England, and in 1746 bought a large tract of land comprising about 180 acres extending from the present Massachusetts Avenue to Broadway. Upon this estate he built a large, roomy house which stood about opposite the end of Austin Street until it was moved away in 1873.

Interesting stories are told of the lavish entertainments given in this house by Mr. and Mrs. Inman prior to the troublous times of the Revolutionary War. Mr. Inman was an ardent Loyalist during the war period and was obliged to leave his home and family for several years, during which Mrs. Inman was left in charge of his affairs, which she managed with great skill and tact. The "Committee of Correspondence" of the town took possession of the place for public use, but it was finally returned to Mr. Inman. Gen. Israel Putnam made the house his headquarters during the Siege of Boston, when it was called "Barrack No. 1" and accommodated 3,460 soldiers.

The following incident of the time was related by Mr. B. F. Jacobs, for many years a resident of Cambridge, as having been told to him by a person who vouched for its accuracy. Upon the easterly corner of the Inman estate, fronting on what is now Massachusetts Avenue, there stood for many years a large, old-fashioned, wooden stable. This stable during the first of the Revolutionary War was used for a military hospital. General Washington, visiting this hospital one day, came to a very young soldier who had been shot in the jaw. He was suffering much pain and his head was heavily bandaged. General Washington kindly enquired how he was getting on. The soldier in a doleful tone said, "Very badly," he "didn't believe he would ever get out again." "Nonsense, my lad," the General cheerfully replied, "you are going to live to kiss the girls yet."

Mr. Inman died in 1788 and in 1792 Mr. Leonard Jarvis bought the property, but sold it to Jonathan L. Austin in 1801, who about 1805 laid out Austin Street from the Inman estate to Main Street. Just when Inman Street was first laid out is not clear, but upon an old map of Boston and vicinity, including Cambridge, made by Major Pelham, an English officer in 1775, a way or lane is shown about on the present location of Inman Street. A plan drawn by Peter Tufts, Jr., dated

1810, shows a way from Main Street to the Middlesex Turnpike (Hampshire Street) called "Inman's Lane," but another plan dated 1822 shows "Inman's Lane" only as far as Broadway. In 1835 the street was extended through to Hampshire Street and called for its entire length, Inman Street.

Magazine Street and Captain's Island

The stories of Magazine Street and Captain's Island are somewhat closely connected, and begin with the granting by the town at some time between 1632 and 1637 of the small hillock of upland situated in the salt marsh at about the center of the bend in Charles River, immediately above the place where the river widens out, to one Captain Daniel Patrick, a soldier "out of Holland," as the account says, although his name would not indicate it.

He must have been among the first of the settlers to arrive here, for on September 7, 1630, he, with a Mr. Underhill, were appointed as "Military Commanders" by the General Court of the Colony, their pay to be partly in money and partly in supplies granted yearly, "their year to begin from the time they begin to keep house." His name appears with seven others in the list of inhabitants at Newtowne in 1632 in the town records, and also as having allotted to him as his share on January 7, 1632, five rods of the common pales; and on August 5, 1633, he was "granted a Akr for cowyardes." He lived while in Cambridge at the southeasterly corner of Boylston and Winthrop Streets. He was employed to exercise and drill the militia of the Colony, he having been a "common soldier of the Prince's Guard in Holland." At the latter part of his stay in Cambridge, it is said "he grew very proud and vicious."

He served three months in the Pequot (Indian) War, where he had command of forty men. He seems to have moved in 1637 to Watertown, where he was admitted to the church and served as a selectman in 1638; and later he moved to Stamford, Connecticut, where in a quarrel with a Dutchman in 1643 he was shot with a pistol and killed. Although he owned the land but for a comparatively short time, the name "Captain's Island" has been applied to the little patch of gravelly, barren land ever since.

It finally passed into the hands of Francis Dana, whose heirs on October 27, 1817, sold the lot containing three acres and twenty rods

to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, upon which to erect "a public magazine of powder." This magazine was completed in September, 1818, and cost about $6500. Peter Tufts, Jr., who owned a large estate near by, and was a well-known surveyor of that time, and had formerly kept the powder house in Charlestown (now Somerville), was made keeper of the magazine.

Up to this time Captain's Island and the lands and marshes adjoining had been reached by the old "Way to Captain's Island," skirting the edge of the marsh from near where Pleasant Street now is. On August 24, 1818, the Commonwealth purchased from Edmund Dana and others the rights of way in a street from the "great road" to Captain's Island, with the agreement to keep the road open and in good repair. This road was soon called Magazine Street and remained in the care of the state until March 17, 1846, when the Commonwealth agreed to pay the town of Cambridge $300 to repair the road and assume its future care and maintenance "from Main Street to the hill a short distance beyond the residence of the late Peter Tufts, Jr., about thirty-eight hundred feet in length, and fifty feet in width."

Linnaean Street

As is well known, the Cambridge Common originally extended from Harvard Square to the present northeasterly line of Linnæan Street. The Common was used for parades, meetings, and other public purposes, but principally for the herding of cows and other cattle during the summer. In 1724, it was decided to divide the greater part of the Common into lots and assign them to individuals. At this time two highways were laid out — the northerly one from the "Road to Menotomy" to the "Highway to the Great Swamp" (Garden Street) for many years was called "Love Lane," a romantic name, which in 1850 was changed to Linnæan Street, after the great botanist Linnæus, as the Botanic Garden stands on the corner of this street and Garden Street.[1]

[1] It will be noticed from the above that the famous old Cooper-Austin house on this street, when built in 1657 and for many years thereafter, simply faced the open Common, without being served by any public road whatever. Such a condition seems to have been not unusual in the early days. The highways were mostly "trunk lines," not residential streets, and many houses were built without much reference to them, a sightly and comfortable location being considered more important.— Ed.

Waterhouse Street

The other road laid out in 1724 formed the southerly boundary of the land taken from the Common, and thus became the northerly boundary of the present Common. It was later called Waterhouse Street, in honor of the famous Dr. Waterhouse, who introduced vaccination into this country, and who lived in the old house on this street.

Upon the large tract lying between Linnæan and Waterhouse Streets and thus cut off from the old Common, no roads seem to have been laid out until 1845, when Shepard Street and, in 1857, Chauncy Street, were laid out.

Cambridge Common

The reduction of the size of the Common in 1724 brought the area down from about eighty-two acres to about nine acres, which still remained in the control of the "Proprietors of Common Lands." On November 20, 1769, the proprietors voted to grant to the town all the lands belonging to them, and March 3, 1828, the selectmen reported that they had purchased all the remaining rights in the land and had "a good and sufficient deed of the same." Meanwhile, the Common remained open and unfenced, traversed and cut up by lines of travel coming from several different directions. This tract proved a convenient spot on which students in the Scientific School of Harvard College could practice surveying and plan-making, and fortunately several of the maps drawn by students are preserved in the Harvard College Library.

On June 5, 1830, by an act of the General Court, five commissioners were appointed to enclose the Common with a fence and embellish it as a park. This was done, and the Common was finished in practically its present condition, the expense being met by private contributions.

Care of Early Streets

It is instructive to learn that very early in its history the town began to take care of such roads and ways as it then had. On November 3, 1634, it was "ordered that every inhabitant in the Towne shall keepe the street Cleane from wood and all other things against his owne Ground, and whosoever shall have anny thinge lye in the street above one daye after the next meetinge day shall forfeit V s. for every such

default." Also, "John White is Chosen surveyer to see the highways and streete kept cleane and in repair for the yeare followeinge."

It may be remembered that "Mr. Joseph Cook," who then lived on Holyoke Street, was in 1635 authorized by the town to keep the ferry across the river. In 1636 we find him looking after the streets of the town, for it was "agreed with Mr. Cook to take up all the stubbs that are within the bounds of the Town, that is within the Town gates, and he is to have nine pence apiece for taking up the same and filling up the holes all above three inches." In the following year, however, an agreement was made with Mr. Symon Crosby "to take up all the stubbs within the Town streets in any way of passage for horse carts or man, at four pence the stubb," a cut of five pence apiece. In 1639, Joseph Cook and Edward Goffe were given "power to cause all that have carriages that way to come together and mend the highway in the neck of land."

The town appears to have suffered even in that early day from the idea which seems all too prevalent now in these later days that public property can with impunity be appropriated to private uses. September 20, 1678, it is recorded that "the selectmen of Cambridge having many Complaints Come to them of the breaking the ground in the high wayes . . . do order that whosoever shall dig any Clay or sand in any highway within the bounds of the Town of Cambridge shall pay five shillings for every load digged in the highway."

Among the many questions regarding the care of various kinds of live stock which were allowed to run at large on the commons and highways of the town, the proper control of swine seems to have been the most troublesome. In addition to the yearly election of "hog reeves," or wardens to look after them, numerous regulations and restrictions were passed and many fines for their infraction were imposed. In 1647 it was ordered, "that all hogs in this town shall be sufficiently yoaked and Ringed or else shutt up." The reference here is to the practice common at that time of placing rings in the snouts of swine to prevent rooting, and attaching a frame or yoke about the neck to hamper their passing through fences when allowed to run loose. In this connection it is interesting to read another order dated February 23, 1662/3, as follows: "ordered that all swine be yoaked wth a crotch yoake or wth 2 cross peeces & y^{t} ye same be in length & bredth proporcconably to the bignes of ye Swine."

Another rather curious order passed on the same date is as follows:

"Ordered that if any man be convicted that his dog is used to pull of the tails of any beasts, and do not effectually restrain Him, He shall pay for every offense of that kind twenty shillings in case that further complaynt be made."

LATER HISTORY (1775–1900)

From what has already been said, it will be seen that for more than one hundred and fifty years after the first settlement of the town, its growth and development had been very slow. In the year 1790, the entire population of Cambridge, then including Arlington and Brighton, was by the census given as 2,115, so that within the city limits as now defined the population must have been less than one thousand persons. The length of roadways then laid out and in use could not have exceeded twelve miles. Of manufactures, there was practically none. The principal interests of the people were about the college and the farms. The lack of convenient connections with Boston and the poor condition of the roads leading to other towns restricted intercourse, and must have tended to make the general social life narrow, self-centered and provincial.

It was only after more than half a century of effort on the part of certain citizens of the town to improve the primitive conditions then existing, and overcome the great natural barrier of the broad waters of the Charles River, that a bridge and causeway were constructed in 1793 from the "westerly part of Boston to Pelham's Island in the Town of Cambridge." The completion of the West Boston Bridge was followed by the construction of another bridge in 1809 from near Barton's Point in Boston to Lechmere Point in Cambridge, called the Canal or Craigie Bridge.

It is undoubtedly true that the construction of these two bridges was the most important of all the factors that contributed to the rapid increase in population and material prosperity which soon followed. Their construction soon led to the laying out and construction of a number of thoroughfares and main roads leading to and through Cambridge, and the cutting up of various large estates, by means of smaller streets, into house lots for sale and occupation. At about this time also another movement came into popular favor which became helpful to Cambridge interests in the same direction. Reference is here made to the policy of laying out and constructing trunk-line

highways, connecting towns more or less widely separated, by a company incorporated by the Legislature for this special purpose. These were called "turnpike roads" and were built by the incorporated companies, using private capital, acting under charters granted by the Legislatures, giving to them certain powers and imposing certain duties and restrictions. All over the country, at this time, these corporations were chartered to take over and build turnpike roads, especially where the municipal authority had not the means or the courage to construct them.

In most of the states, special laws were passed giving the corporations certain rights and defining their powers as to taking land, paying damages, limiting the amounts of tolls to be charged, number of toll gates, etc.[1] Acting under these special laws, it is said that in the New England states alone, some one hundred eighty-two turnpike corporations were chartered. The most of them proved to be financial failures and were abandoned, and many of the roads surrendered to the county commissioners of the county in which the roads were located. Indirectly, however, they were of great benefit to the country in stimulating an interest in better transportation facilities, especially between the more important towns.

Concord Avenue and Broadway

Cambridge was the terminal point of several of these turnpike roads constructed during this period. The first was called the "Cambridge and Concord Turnpike Corporation," and was chartered May 5, 1803, to construct a turnpike or toll road from a point near the dwelling house of Jonas Wyeth in Cambridge to Concord, Mass., passing by the summer-house of Dr. Andrew Craigie, who, as customary, later had a suit with the corporation for damages.[2]

March 5, 1805, a charter was given the same corporation to extend the turnpike from the Cambridge Common easterly to the causeway of West Boston Bridge "in as straight a line as the circumstances will permit," but not to go nearer than a distance of ninety feet from the new building of Harvard College then being built, now called Stough-

[1] A typical schedule of toll charges is given on page 52 relating to Main Street and West Boston Bridge.

[2] This summer-house was built by John Vassall, Craigie's predecessor in the property, on the site of the present Harvard Observatory, and standing alone on the crown of the highest hill in town was a prominent landmark. The Wyeth house was about on the corner of Garden Street and Phillips Place.— Ed.

ton Hall. The easterly terminus of this turnpike was to be at the "causeway of West Boston Bridge near the house of Royal Makepeace." This portion of the street was first called Concord Street and finally called Broadway.

The westerly portion of the road was completed December 1, 1806, and in February, 1807, it was declared open for business. The part from the Common easterly was not completed until several years later; for in March, 1811, the corporation petitioned to be relieved of its construction, but the petition was dismissed in January, 1812. Two toll gates, which were not to be "closely located," were allowed to be built in this road.

September, 1826, the company turned over all its papers to the county commissioners and asked to have the road laid out as a public way, which was done in May, 1829, making it a county road.

Hampshire Street

Another ambitious scheme, called "The Middlesex Turnpike," was chartered January 15, 1805. The road began at the Tyngsborough Meeting House, passing through Chelmsford, Billerica, Bedford, Lexington, Arlington, and by the old Menotomy road to Porter Square, Cambridge, thence in nearly a straight line to the Cambridge and Concord Turnpike Road at what is now known as Mechanics Square. This road is now known as Hampshire Street in Cambridge. One of the toll houses on this turnpike stood at the intersection of Beacon and Washington Streets, Somerville.

On petition of the corporation, it was dissolved by the Legislature, March 13, 1841, and the turnpike became a county road in September, 1842.

Western Avenue and Bridge

Another corporation was chartered June 12, 1824, to construct a turnpike through the towns of Cambridge, Brighton and Watertown. This enterprise had several unique features. It was virtually promoted by the proprietors of the West Boston Bridge to offset the loss they feared would result in decreased patronage on the West Boston Bridge, then a toll bridge, by reason of a newly authorized turnpike road connecting Watertown with the "Mill Dam Road," in Boston. The plan of this Cambridge to Watertown turnpike shows the route

"from the pump in Watertown, to Cambridge, on the way to the pump in Dock Square"— two rather unusual termini to be given a turnpike road, especially at that time!

Again, there were to be no tolls charged, so, of course, there were no toll houses or gates. The entire cost of the road, including two bridges over the Charles River, was to be borne by the company.

The West Boston Bridge Corporation, in 1846, sold their entire interest in these and other properties to the Hancock Free Bridge Corporation, and named the turnpike "Western Avenue." In 1855, it was laid out by the city of Cambridge as a public highway.

River Street and Bridge

On March 2, 1808, Jonathan L. Austin, a Cambridge man who lived on Inman Street, opposite the head of Austin Street,[1] with other real estate owners, were incorporated and authorized to construct a bridge and connecting highway, now called River Street, leading from Brighton to Main Street, at its junction with Western Avenue — as Mr. Paige states in his *History of Cambridge* "for the advantage of the proprietors of the West Boston Bridge and the owners of real estate in Cambridgeport." This bridge (then called the "Brighton and Cambridgeport Bridge") and street (first called "Brighton Street") were completed and opened for travel December 11, 1810, and they were maintained by the corporation until 1832, when, after much discussion, the town assumed their care and maintenance.

Brookline Street and Bridge

Another toll-collecting enterprise was called the "Cambridge and Brookline Bridge Corporation," composed largely of Cambridge men, and was chartered April 25, 1850, to connect Cambridge and Brookline by a bridge, with causeways leading to existing streets in both places. Tolls were to be collected but were not to exceed a specified schedule. This led to the laying out and extension of Brookline Street to the street already laid out from Massachusetts Avenue to Auburn Street and called "Canal Street" in 1852, and the development of large tracts of land in the vicinity. The bridge and its approaches were made free and taken over as highways by the municipalities April 6, 1870. The old toll house stood on the westerly side of Brookline Street, a little south of Granite Street.

[1] See p. 43, *ante*.

West Boston (now Cambridge) Bridge

The construction of this bridge and the approaching causeways at each end were authorized by an act of the Legislature, dated March 9, 1792, and the bridge was open for travel November 23, 1793. The main bridge was 3,483 feet long, with a causeway on the Boston side extending nearly to South Russell Street and with another causeway on the Cambridge side extending from the westerly end of the bridge to the easterly side of "Pelham's Island," near Moore Street, a distance of about 3,600 feet. At the opening of the bridge and causeway in 1793, a toll house was located on the north side of the causeway, at its extreme westerly end, near Moore Street. Upon the laying out of Harvard Street and other streets leading into the causeway, about 1805, the toll house was moved, and in 1835 it stood about 900 feet easterly of the junction of Broadway. Later it was moved again and placed on the southerly side of the bridge, nearly opposite where First Street now comes into Main Street. In 1810 there was another toll house shown on the northerly side of the causeway, at Grove Street, Boston.

As illustrating the "spirit of the age" as it existed one hundred and twenty-five years ago, the schedule of tolls to be collected at these toll houses may be found of interest:

"Each foot passenger (or one person passing), two-thirds of a penny; one person and horse, two pence two-thirds of a penny; single horse, cart or sled, or sley, four pence; wheelbarrows, hand-carts, and other vehicles capable of carrying like weight, one penny, one-third of a penny; single horse and chaise, chair or sulky, eight pence; coaches, chariots, phaetons and curricles, one shilling each; all other wheel carriages or sleds drawn by more than one beast, six pence; neat cattle and horses passing the said bridge, exclusive of those rode or in carriages or teams, one penny, one-third of a penny; swine and sheep, four pence for each dozen, and at the same rate for a greater or less number; and in all cases the same toll shall be paid for all carriages and vehicles passing the said bridge, whether the same be loaded or not loaded; and to each team one man and no more shall be allowed as a driver to pass free from payment of toll, and in all cases DOUBLE TOLL SHALL BE PAID ON THE LORD'S DAY; and at all times when the toll gatherer shall not attend to his duty the gate or gates shall be left open."

Considering the limited resources of the time it must be conceded that this whole enterprise was a very large and creditable one and that the enthusiasm of the *Columbian Centinal*, a newspaper of the time, was excusable when it declared that "The elegance of the workmanship, and the magnitude of the undertaking are perhaps unequalled in the history of enterprises."[1]

Main Street

Main Street, as originally so called, extended from the abutment of the West Boston Bridge to Harvard Square. In 1894 the name of Massachusetts Avenue was given to the portion between Lafayette Square and Harvard Square. The remaining portion, which is now called Main Street, was first laid out as an approach to the West Boston Bridge in 1793.

This causeway was built entirely upon marsh land and was originally laid out 130 feet wide, but the roadway itself was constructed only 40 feet wide and was made of the material taken from the two wide ditches or canals dug one on each side of the roadway, which was enclosed by retaining walls or bulkheads on each side, with capstone and railing on top. Later the roadway was filled out to 70 feet in width, and about 30 feet beyond on each side of the way as filled was released back to the abutting owners, making the final width as at present constructed 70 feet.

From the end of the causeway near Moore Street, the road was constructed across Pelham's Island "in the most direct and practicable line to the nearest part of the Cambridge Road," which was the old road formerly called the "Way to Pelham's Island."

On the Boston side the causeway was built from the end of the bridge near Grove Street to near what is now South Russell Street, Boston. This made the total length of bridge and causeways about 8,800 feet, or $1\frac{2}{3}$ miles.

The "Pelham's Island" here referred to was a tract of upland containing about 20 acres, slightly elevated above the marsh land, and extending from near the present location of Moore Street to near Columbia Street. It was largely surrounded by marsh land, and on the west was bounded by a brook or narrow creek which crossed the

[1] For a more complete description of the Cambridge bridges see paper, "An Historical Account of Some Bridges over the Charles River," in Cambridge Historical Society, *Proceedings*, vii, 51 *et seq.*

present location of Massachusetts Avenue near Lafayette Square, making it an island at high tide. It was so called because it was owned at one time by Herbert Pelham, who came from England to this country in 1638 or 1639 and settled in Cambridge at the northwesterly corner of South and Dunster Streets.

The following is an interesting anecdote which is related concerning Mr. Pelham. It seems that on November 17, 1638, about the time of the arrival of Mr. Pelham with his three motherless children in this country, a Mr. Roger Harlakenden, another prominent and highly respected man in the colony, had suddenly died of smallpox, leaving a widow and two children and also the house at the corner of Dunster and South Streets. By his will he provided that £100 should be paid from his estate to the church. Mr. Pelham soon married the widow Harlakenden and with the combined families occupied the Dunster Street house, and in the spring of 1640 he paid the bequest by giving to the church a milch cow!

He was quite prominent in public affairs for about ten years, returning to England in 1649, and dying in 1673. He left one son named Edward in this country.[1]

In 1756 Ralph Inman, for whom Inman Street was named, became the owner of the "island." In 1792 the land was conveyed to Leonard Jarvis, a large landowner at that time, and it was from him that the proprietors of the West Boston Bridge obtained the land needed for making the connecting road from the causeway to the "Way to Pelham's Island" above referred to.

The construction of the bridge and causeway immediately led to the presentation of a petition by James Winthrop, Esquire, to the Court of Sessions, to "improve the road which leads from Pelham's Island in the Town of Cambridge to the public meeting house in the first parish of said Town." A committee was appointed by the court which reported September 18, 1793, recommending that the way be laid out, with some alterations in the lines, by certain bounds and measurements.

As the description of the boundaries of the street included in the

[1] Pelham was as near an aristocrat as Cambridge ever saw. His mother was the eldest daughter of Lord Delaware and his father a near relative of the Duke of Newcastle. His first wife, who died before he left Lincolnshire for America, was granddaughter of Sir William Waldegrave, and his second the daughter of Colonel Godfrey Bosville. His sister Penelope married Governor Bellingham. After his return to England he became a member of Parliament. (See Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 625.) See further, p. 96, *post*.— Ed.

report of the committee is rather unique, a part of it is quoted here: "The northerly bound of said way begins at the northwesterly corner of the Causeway thrown up by the proprietors of the new bridge (so called) and runs from thence by a straight line to a pear tree nearly opposite the mansion house of Leonard Jarvis, Esquire, and from thence by a straight line to the centre of a barberry bush standing in the present old proprietors way near the wall at the northerly side thereof, and from thence by a straight line to the southeasterly corner post of the fence inclosing the yard in front of the mansion house of Francis Dana, Esquire, and from thence by the fence as it now stands to a small stake and stones nearly opposite to a blacksmith's shop on land of Wm. Winthrop, Esquire, and from thence by sundry stakes across said old proprietors way and part of the land of said Winthrop to an apple tree in said Winthrop's land near said old proprietors way, thence again crossing said old proprietors way by sundry stakes to a well in land of Edmund Dana, from thence by sundry stakes to a large stake in the fence near (and a little eastward) the parsonage house (so called) and from thence by a straight line to common land before the meeting house, to strike said common land fifty-three feet distant from the front of a dwelling house belonging to Andrew Boardman, Esquire, which finishes the northerly bound of said new Way."

Probably no better evidence can be given of the unsophisticated character of the men of Cambridge at that time than is indicated by the foregoing description of the bounds of one of its principal highways.

While some changes have been made in the lines of Main Street at certain points by widenings at various times, the street remains at present substantially as then laid out, and forms one of the principal approaches to the city from the east.

It was over this street that for many years one of the stage lines passed leading west from Boston. The following clipping from the *Massachusetts Register* of 1819 gives "A list of the stages that start from taverns in Boston." "New line of half-hourly coaches between Cambridgeport and Boston leave as follows, viz.: Half past seven A.M. and continue to leave each office every half-hour through the day until 8 P.M. Passengers taken and left at any place in Cambridge, Cambridgeport, and Boston. Office in Boston at 51 Brattle Street. Fare to Cambridge 25 cents, Cambridgeport 12½ cents."

It was upon this street also that one of the first horse car lines to operate in this country was located in 1856, first running from Central Square, Cambridge, to West Cedar Street, Boston.

Canal (or Craigie) Bridge

The movement which ultimately led to the construction of the Canal Bridge and the two important avenues of Cambridge Street and Bridge Street was begun in 1738 when a number of Cambridge citizens applied to the General Court for liberty to establish a ferry between Cambridge and Boston. Another petition was presented the same year for the right to construct a bridge from "Colonel Phipps Farm" (now East Cambridge) to Boston. In 1785 another petition to the same effect was presented, but nothing came of either until after the construction of the West Boston Bridge in 1792–93, as before related.

The success of the Charlestown and West Boston Bridges and the acquirement by Mr. Andrew Craigie of the control of the large tract of land on and westerly of Lechmere Point led to a revival of the scheme to construct a bridge from Lechmere Point to Boston, and on October 27, 1807, Mr. Craigie and twelve associates were incorporated with authority to build the Canal Bridge. It was called "Canal Bridge" because one-third of the shares were to be held by the individual proprietors of the Middlesex Canal Corporation, but it soon came to be familiarly called "Craigie's Bridge." The bridge was completed and opened for travel in August, 1809.

The original length of the bridge was about 2,800 feet, but prior to 1834 a large portion of the bridge at the Cambridge end, about 1,150 feet in length, was removed and filled solid to form a part of Bridge Street. Leverett Street on the Boston side was also extended about 400 feet to the present harbor line. The toll house stood on the northerly side of the bridge about 400 feet easterly of Prison Point Street. Together with several other bridges it was purchased by the Hancock Free Bridge Corporation in 1846, and in 1858 it was made a free bridge. In 1910 the entire bridge was removed and replaced by the solid embankment of the Charles River Dam as a part of the Metropolitan Park System.

Cambridge Street

Upon the completion of the Canal Bridge in 1809, Mr. Andrew Craigie and four others were incorporated March 3, 1810, as the

"Lechmere Point Corporation." They then held great tracts of land in the easterly section of the town, extending from the easterly end of the Point to a line west of what is now Inman Square, and they made plans for an extensive land development and sale. In this, Andrew Craigie was the prime mover.

It was first necessary to secure a connection between the new bridge and Harvard Square with its connecting thoroughfares. Two men, William Winthrop and Francis Foxcroft, owned the lands on the line of the proposed new street from its junction with the Concord turnpike (now Broadway) to near its crossing of the Middlesex turnpike (now Hampshire Street). These two men joined with Mr. Craigie and his associates in laying out and grading the way afterwards called Cambridge Street from its junction with Broadway running easterly to its junction with Bridge Street in a straight line, a distance of 10,800 feet. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Craigie and the two others did not control all the land on this line, for a length of about 750 feet near Elm Street was held by owners adverse to the Lechmere Point Corporation. The town failing to lay out the street, a petition dated June 6, 1809, was presented to the General Court or Legislature to lay out the street. To this the town remonstrated and the Legislature declined to locate the road. The road finally was laid out by the town July 10, 1809. Further litigation then ensued as to the right of Mr. Craigie and Mr. Winthrop to claim or recover damages for land taken in the layout of the street of their own promotion. This was finally settled on January 5, 1813, by the Court of Sessions finding that the two men "had sustained no damages."

The laying out of this street of ample width and on a straight line connecting these two civic centers was a great public improvement. Much of the land in the central part was low and flat, and at that time covered with wood and blueberry bushes. It was in this vicinity that the bear killed September 19, 1754, as mentioned in Paige's *History of Cambridge*, was reported to have been first seen.

Bridge Street

Bridge Street was originally laid out, in connection with the Cambridge Street project, to connect with the territory lying to the north and northwest of Lechmere Point.

It began at its junction with Cambridge Street, now called Lechmere Square, where the westerly abutment of the Canal Bridge was

first located in 1809. From this point to Gore Street, Bridge Street was laid out in 1810 by the Court of Common Pleas. From Gore Street to Third Street it was laid out by the town in 1829, and from Third Street to the center of Miller's River it was laid out by the county in 1839. At some time prior to 1834, Bridge Street was extended easterly about 1,150 feet over the filling to the new position of the abutment of the Canal Bridge, and in 1856 this portion of the street was laid out by the city as a public way.

East Cambridge Streets

Immediately following the successful efforts of the Lechmere Point Corporation, with Mr. Craigie at its head, to secure the laying out of Cambridge Street by the town, the project of cutting the property owned by them into streets and lots was undertaken. In 1811 a complete plan of the streets and lots for the district was prepared by Peter Tufts, Jr., a well-known surveyor of that time, and recorded in the East Cambridge Registry of Deeds, and the sale of lots began and has since been carried out in substantial accordance with the original plan.

This plan, however, only covered lands extending to about where Charles Street now is. The rest of the large area extending to Broad Canal was subsequently purchased by another corporation called the "East Cambridge Land Company," who in 1869 laid out this tract along the same general lines as that followed by the Lechmere Point Corporation.

Mt. Auburn Street

Another important act which aroused great interest in the town, which was then divided by opposing interests into two practically hostile camps, was the laying out of a new way from the junction of what is now Mt. Auburn Street and Elmwood Avenue to Brattle Square, forming a part of what is now Mt. Auburn Street.

The parties having interests in the new West Boston Bridge and connecting streets wished to "establish the road as now laid out from the garden of the Hon. Elbridge Gerry (Elmwood Avenue, corner Mt. Auburn Street) to the garden of the late Thomas Brattle, Esquire" (at Brattle Square). On the other hand, Mr. Craigie and his friends wished the new road to run from what is now the junction of Mt. Auburn Street and Elmwood Avenue in a straight line to the junction

of Brattle Street and Mason Street, and offered to give the land and build the road as far as his land went. This, of course, would tend to send the Boston-wise travel over Cambridge Street and Craigie's bridge and so help develop the Craigie interests in that direction.

On December 26, 1805, the town voted to present a petition to the Court of Sessions in favor of the first plan, but at a meeting held February 17, 1806, this action was reversed, and November 17, 1806, the town voted in favor of the second plan, and May 27, 1807, the selectmen laid out the road as desired by Mr. Craigie. The town, however, seems to have again changed its mind, for on May 2, 1808, it voted to lay out the street by the first plan, appropriated $3,000 to construct the street, and directed the selectmen to build the street *at once*. Mr. Craigie and others immediately protested against this, and seem to have taken physical means to prevent the carrying out of the order; for on June 7, 1808, the town directed the selectmen to complete the work and prosecute "Andrew Craigie and others for trespass committed, or which may hereafter be committed by him or others upon the road."

On September 6, 1808, the town voted to extend the street from Holyoke Street to Main Street, thus completing the road from the Watertown line to its junction with Massachusetts Avenue at Putnam Square, as the part from Brattle Square to Holyoke Street was the original "Spring Street" of 1635.[1]

Harvard Street

Harvard Street is another important thoroughfare. Its easterly portion, originally called "Canal Street," formed a part of the scheme of development promoted in the early part of the nineteenth century

[1] At the March meeting of 1809 the selectmen reported "that the road from Messrs. Orne's & Company store to the Mall, or the town road, near the Town Spring (so called) has also been finished with the exception that the railing on one side of that part which crosses the marsh is not completed." Orne's store stood near the foot of Elmwood Avenue. (See Cambridge Historical Society *Proceedings*, xiii. 85.) The Mall was on the southerly side of Brattle Square. It was one of the numerous improvements made on his estate by Thomas Brattle, when he returned from England after the Revolution, full of horticultural enthusiasm. He enlarged the gardens behind his house till they extended to the river, and "planted a long walk of trees for the especial benefit of the students, where they might take their exercise sheltered from the sun." [!] (See T. C. Amory, *Old Cambridge and New*, 21.) The landward slope of Simon's Hill (where the Cambridge Hospital now stands) was in the line of the new road, and was used to "cut and fill," thereby losing much of its substance. There is a tradition that so much filling had to be dumped into the marsh at the point where the road borders the river that the weight pushed up a temporary island of mud in the middle of the stream, after the manner of the celebrated "Culebra Cut" of recent times.— Ed.

to make of Cambridge a port of entry for commerce; and this part of the street, in addition to some controlled by other owners as far west as Norfolk Street, was laid out at that time. The portion between Quincy Square and a point just east of Hancock Street was laid out by the town in August, 1808, and the abutting land was put into house lots for sale by the heirs of Francis Dana between 1830 and 1840.

Museum Street

An unusual case of a steam railroad location being abandoned and afterward utilized as a highway is found in Museum Street. In 1848, a small branch line running from the Fitchburg Railroad in Somerville to a terminal on Holmes Place was incorporated as the "Harvard Branch Railroad." It was intended to furnish accommodations for persons connected with Harvard College and those located in the vicinity. The first train was run December 31, 1849. The road proved a financial failure and was sold at auction on July 6, 1855, to William L. Whitney, a Cambridge citizen, for $10,500, and the old station and land on Holmes Place was sold to Harvard College. Some of the remaining land in the old right of way was also taken in by the college. Another section of the old right of way about one thousand feet long, after remaining vacant for some years, gradually became used as a street and was accepted by the city as Museum Street in 1902 and 1915.

Putnam Avenue

What is now called Putnam Avenue is a unification of several detached streets. From Mt. Auburn Street to Western Avenue, the present location is said to largely coincide with the old "Way to the Little Neck." During the Revolutionary War, a large redoubt was built easterly of and adjacent to this way, which remained visible until a comparatively recent time. In 1840, a street was laid out by the town on the line of this way and called "Fort Street," afterwards called Putnam Street.

The portion between Western Avenue and River Street was laid out in 1865 as "Kent Street," and in 1873 the street was extended by the city from River Street to Pleasant Street as "Walnut Street." In 1850, 1847 and 1838, respectively, the following parts had been laid out by the various owners, Pleasant Street to Magazine Street,

Magazine Street to Pearl Street and Pearl Street to Waverly Street; and in 1873 the entire street was renamed Putnam Avenue by the city.

Wendell and Mellen Streets

The tract of land extending from Everett Street to beyond Wendell Street and from Massachusetts Avenue to beyond Oxford Street was originally owned by members of the Brattle family, and the daughter of Gen. William Brattle, Katherine Brattle, lived for many years in a house which stood near Wendell Street, fronting on Massachusetts Avenue. She had married in 1752 Mr. John Mico Wendell and was known during the latter part of her life as "Madam Wendell." Upon the death of her brother, Thomas Brattle, in 1801, the property went to Madam Wendell's two granddaughters, Martha F. Wendell, who married the Rev. John Mellen, and Katherine Wendell, who married the Rev. Caleb Gannett. Madam Wendell died in 1821 at the advanced age of ninety years.

When this tract was developed in 1847, and streets and lots were laid out upon it, the family names of Wendell and Mellen were given to the two streets.

Oxford Street

Oxford Street, from Kirkland Street to Everett Street, had been laid out about 1840, and by the development of the Wendell property in 1847, it was extended about 800 feet. In 1851 another extension was made and in 1858 Oxford Street was laid out to the Somerville line through the Frost estate, thus completing the entire street as it now exists.

The laying out and construction of these main thoroughfares and streets above described led directly to the cutting up of many of the larger estates by the laying out of streets, and the subdivision of the land into house lots for occupation and sale. The story of all these smaller street developments would be long and not especially interesting. It may be sufficient to say that in fourteen of the larger land developments from the year 1811 to 1873, about eighteen miles of new streets were laid out, with a large number of house lots upon them for occupation.

NAMES AND DATES OF STREETS

Historic interest is often associated with a street not solely by reason of events which may have transpired upon it, but sometimes because of the name it bears. This seems to be especially true of Cambridge, where many of the streets bear the names of persons or places famed in American history. The following are some of the streets, the origin of whose names is fairly well known.

Eleven streets have been named for past presidents of Harvard University:

Chauncy Street for Charles Chauncy
Dunster Street for Henry Dunster
Everett Street for Edward Everett
Felton Street for Cornelius C. Felton
Holyoke Street for Edward Holyoke
Kirkland Street for John T. Kirkland
Langdon Street for Samuel Langdon
Quincy Street for Josiah Quincy
Sparks Street for Jared Sparks
Walker Street for James Walker
Willard Street for Joseph Willard

Six streets were named for members or relatives of the Judge Francis Dana family:

Allston Street
Dana Street
Ellery Street
Kinnaird Street
Remington Street
Trowbridge Street

The following were named for the nine prominent counties of the state:

Berkshire Street
Bristol Street
Essex Street
Hampshire Street
Middlesex Street
Norfolk Street
Plymouth Street
Suffolk Street
Worcester Street

The following six street names were made familiar by the War of 1812:

Decatur Street	Lawrence Street
Erie Street	Niagara Street
Lake Street	Perry Street

Between Massachusetts Avenue and the Somerville line near the town of Arlington was established during the Civil War a large military camp called "Camp Cameron." There are now five streets there whose names are reminiscent of the Civil War and its Cambridge camp:

Cameron Street	Fair Oaks Street
Camp Street	Seven Pines Street

Yorktown Street

The following streets bear the names of well-known colleges:

Amherst Street	Tech Street
Harvard Street	Vassar Street
Princeton Avenue	Wellesley Street

Some of the governors of the state are remembered in names of the following streets:

Ames Street	Fowler Street
Danforth Street	Gore Street [1]
Endicott Street	Greenhalge Street

Hutchinson Street

The following streets have names whose derivation is fairly well known, and also the approximate dates of their being laid out as streets by the original owners:

	Laid out
ABERDEEN AVENUE, for Aberdeen, Scotland, by Alex. McDonald, landowner	1886
AGASSIZ STREET, for Prof. Louis Agassiz, naturalist	1886
ALLSTON STREET, for Washington Allston, painter	1838 and 1847
APPIAN WAY, named prior to 1837	1800
APPLETON STREET, for John Appleton	1861
ARLINGTON STREET, formerly called "Chapel Street"	1862
ASH STREET, ancient way to town landing	1684

[1] In the neighborhood of Gore Street the impression seems to prevail that it was named with reference to the slaughter houses located there! — Ed.

	Laid out
AUSTIN STREET, for Jonathan L. Austin, landowner	about 1801
AVON HILL STREET, formerly called "Jarvis Court"	1858
BALDWIN STREET, for Judge J. F. Baldwin, formerly called "Tremont Street"	1853
BANKS STREET, by heirs of William Winthrop	about 1844
BIGELOW STREET, for Benjamin Bigelow, early landowner, formerly called "Beacon Street"	1868
BINNEY STREET, for Amos Binney, real estate owner and treasurer of the Proprietors of Canal Bridge.	
BEECH STREET, until 1848 called "Medford Street"	prior to 1775
BENT STREET, for Newell Bent, landowner	1869
BERKELEY STREET, for Bishop George Berkeley	1852
BOARDMAN STREET, for Andrew Boardman, early landowner	1805
BOND STREET, for Prof. George Bond, astronomer	1842
BOYLSTON STREET. From Harvard Square to Eliot Street first called "Wood Street." From Eliot Street to the bridge called the "Causie" 1663 et seq. For many years it formed a part of the "Way from Cambridge to Roxbery." In 1838 the street was called "Brighton Street." December 1, 1882, the name was changed to Boylston Street.	
BRATTLE STREET, for Brattle family, residents on street from 1696 to 1801. Date of laying out of street from Brattle Square to Mason Street unknown. Mason Street to Elmwood Avenue part of ancient Way to Charlestown. Elmwood Avenue to Mt. Auburn Street laid out by county in	Sept., 1812
BREWSTER STREET, for John Brewster, financier and landowner	1887
BRIDGE STREET, by Lechmere Point Corporation as an approach to Canal Bridge	1809
BROADWAY, originally a part of the Cambridge and Concord turnpike, first called "Concord Street"	1805
BROOKLINE STREET, Massachusetts Avenue to Auburn Street called "Canal Street." Auburn Street to bridge laid out in 1851 and called Brookline Street in 1852	about 1824
CAMBRIDGE STREET, from Canal Bridge at Charles River, now Bridge Street, to near Elm Street, laid out by Lechmere Point Corporation as Cambridge Street prior to 1809. From Elm Street westerly to Broadway, called "Foxcroft Street," for John Foxcroft, landowner; and sometimes called "Craigie Street" for Andrew Craigie	1835 to 1848
Name established as Cambridge Street its entire length by city of Cambridge	Sept. 26, 1848
CHAUNCY STREET, for Charles Chauncy, second president of Harvard University	1857
CHURCH STREET, for First Parish Church, formerly called "Hancock Street," for Torrey Hancock. Completed about	1835

	Laid out
CLARK STREET, for Charles Clark, landowner	1840
COOLIDGE AVENUE, for Josiah Coolidge, landowner	about 1850
CONCORD AVENUE, laid out as a turnpike road in 1803, called Concord turnpike. In 1829 taken by the county. In 1846 it became a city street.	
CRAIGIE STREET, for Andrew Craigie, landowner	about 1851
DANA STREET, ancient "Highway to the Common Pales." Afterwards named for Dana family, landowners	1835
DAVIS STREET, for Mason Davis, landowner, called "Mason Street" until 1840	about 1805
DUNSTER STREET, for Henry Dunster, first president of Harvard University	1632
ELLERY STREET, for Elizabeth Ellery, wife of Edmund Dana	1838
FARWELL PLACE, for Levi Farwell, formerly called "School Court," name changed in 1872 to Farwell Place	1830 to 1837
FAYERWEATHER STREET, for Thomas Fayerweather, landowner. A private way on plan of 1760. Accepted in	1851
FOLLEN STREET, for Rev. Charles Follen, originally called "Follen Place."	
GARDEN STREET, an ancient way. Until 1848 easterly end called "Washington Street." Name changed to Garden Street for the Botanic Gardens started in 1805.	
GORE STREET, for Christopher Gore, governor of Massachusetts 1809 and 1810	1811
HAMPSHIRE STREET, a part of the Middlesex Turnpike, chartered in 1805. A county road from 1842 to 1846. When Cambridge was made a city it became a city street, 1846.	
HARVARD STREET, for Harvard College. From Main Street to near Windsor Street, called "Canal Street," laid out about 1804. From the parsonage at Harvard Square to near Windsor Street, as Harvard Street, by the town	1808
HAYWARD STREET, for James Hayward, early surveyor	1902
HILLIARD STREET, for William Hilliard, publisher. Formerly called "Woodbine Lane."	1852
HOLMES PLACE, for Rev. Abiel Holmes, whose house stood there.	
HOLYOKE STREET, for Rev. Edward Holyoke, president of Harvard University, first called "Crooked Street"	1632
HUBBARD PARK ROAD, for Gardiner G. Hubbard, landowner	1907
INMAN STREET, for Ralph Inman, early landowner. Massachusetts Avenue to Broadway called "Inman's Lane" in 1810, later called "Grove Street." Extended to Hampshire Street in 1835, and called Inman Street its entire length.	
JARVIS STREET, for Nathaniel Jarvis, landowner	1861
KINNAIRD STREET, for Lord Kinnaird, England, married one of the Dana family	1852

	Laid out
KIRKLAND STREET, for John T. Kirkland, president of Harvard University, called "Washington Street" until 1830, sometimes called "Professors' Row." A travelled way to Charlestown prior to 1631.	
LANGDON STREET, for Samuel Langdon, president of Harvard College, 1774–1780.	
LEE STREET, for Nathaniel C. Lee, landowner	1809
LINNÆAN STREET, for botanist Linnæus, formerly called "Love Lane." Laid out 1724. Name changed in	1850
MAGAZINE STREET, for state powder magazine at Captain's Island	1818
MAIN STREET, originally laid out and constructed as a causeway forming an approach to West Boston Bridge in 1793. Laid out as a part of Main Street by the city in	1855
MASON STREET, a part of the "Way from Watertown to Charlestown" in 1631.	
MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, Harvard Bridge to Lafayette Square. Laid out by the city in 1889, called for a time "Front Street Extension," includes part of a street then called Front Street.	
Lafayette Square to Quincy Square. First called "Way to Pelham's Island"; later called "Road from Colleges to West Boston Bridge"; still later called a part of "Main Street."	
Quincy Square to Harvard Square. First called "Braintree Street," later a part of Harvard Street.	
Harvard Square to Arlington line. First called "Road to Menotomy," later called "North Avenue."	
From 1805 to 1842 the portion from Porter Square to Arlington line was a part of the Middlesex turnpike.	
Entire street named Massachusetts Avenue	March 30, 1894
MELLEN STREET, for Rev. John Mellen, whose wife was a Wendell, by whom the Wendell Street and Mellen Street tract was laid out in	1847
MERCER CIRCLE, for Gertrude Mercer, wife of Gardiner G. Hubbard	1884
MT. AUBURN STREET, Elmwood Avenue to the Watertown line, a part of the "Way from Watertown to Charlestown" in	1631
Elmwood Avenue to Brattle Square laid out by the town and called "Lower road to Mt. Auburn" in	1808
Brattle Square to Holyoke Street, one of the first streets laid out by the town and called "Spring Street"	about 1632
Holyoke Street to Putnam Square laid out by the town	Sept. 6, 1808
MUNROE STREET, for Edmund Munroe, landowner, one of the incorporators of the East Cambridge Land Co.	1869
MUSEUM STREET, for Agassiz Museum, formerly a part of the Harvard Branch Railroad location	about 1855

	Laid out
OTIS STREET, for Harrison Gray Otis, shareholder in Lechmere Point Corporation	1811
OXFORD STREET, from Kirkland Street to near Jarvis Street.	prior to 1847
From Jarvis Street to city line, by various estates	1847 to 1861
PALMER STREET, for Stephen Palmer, landowner	1847
PEARL STREET, Massachusetts Avenue to Auburn Street laid out in 1822 and called "Inn Street." Shown on plan of 1824 without name entire length.	
PHILLIPS PLACE, for Willard Phillips (?)	1851
PLYMPTON STREET, for Dr. Sylvanus Plympton	1803
POTTER STREET, for Henry Potter, one of the incorporators of the East Cambridge Land Co.	1869
PRESCOTT STREET, for Col. Prescott, formerly called "Charles Street." Northerly end originally known as "Pig Lane."	1834
PROSPECT STREET, laid out in 1804 as a county road leading to Prospect Hill, Somerville, called Prospect Street in	1822
PUTNAM AVENUE, Mt. Auburn Street to Western Avenue, called "Fort Street" in 1842. Western Avenue to River Street called "Kent Street" in 1865. River Street to Pleasant Street, laid out by city as Walnut Street	1873
Pleasant Street to Magazine Street, laid out as Walnut Street	1850
Magazine Street to Pearl Street, laid out as Walnut Street	1847
Pearl Street to Waverly Street, laid out as Walnut Street	1830
Entire street named Putnam Avenue for Major-General Israel Putnam	1873
QUINCY STREET, for Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard College, 1829–1845. Laid out from Kirkland Street to a little beyond Broadway about 1811. Later completed through land of Edmund Dana and called "Dana Street." Called "College Street" on a map of 1841. Name changed to Quincy Street about the time of its acceptance in	1853
REMINGTON STREET, for Judge Jonathan Remington	1844
RIEDESEL AVENUE, for Madam Riedesel, wife of General Riedesel, Hessian prisoner of war during Revolution	1890
RINDGE AVENUE, for Frederick H. Rindge, formerly called "Kidder's Lane" and later called "Spruce Street"	about 1847
RIVER STREET, laid and constructed by private corporation and opened for travel	Dec. 11, 1810
Taken over by town in 1832, first called "Brighton Street," name changed to River Street	Sept. 26, 1848
ROGERS STREET, for William Sanford Rogers, merchant of Boston, shareholder in Lechmere Point Corporation and East Cambridge Land Co.	1869
SHEPARD STREET, for Rev. Thomas Shepard, first called "Avon Street."	1845
SIDNEY STREET, for Sidney Willard	1838

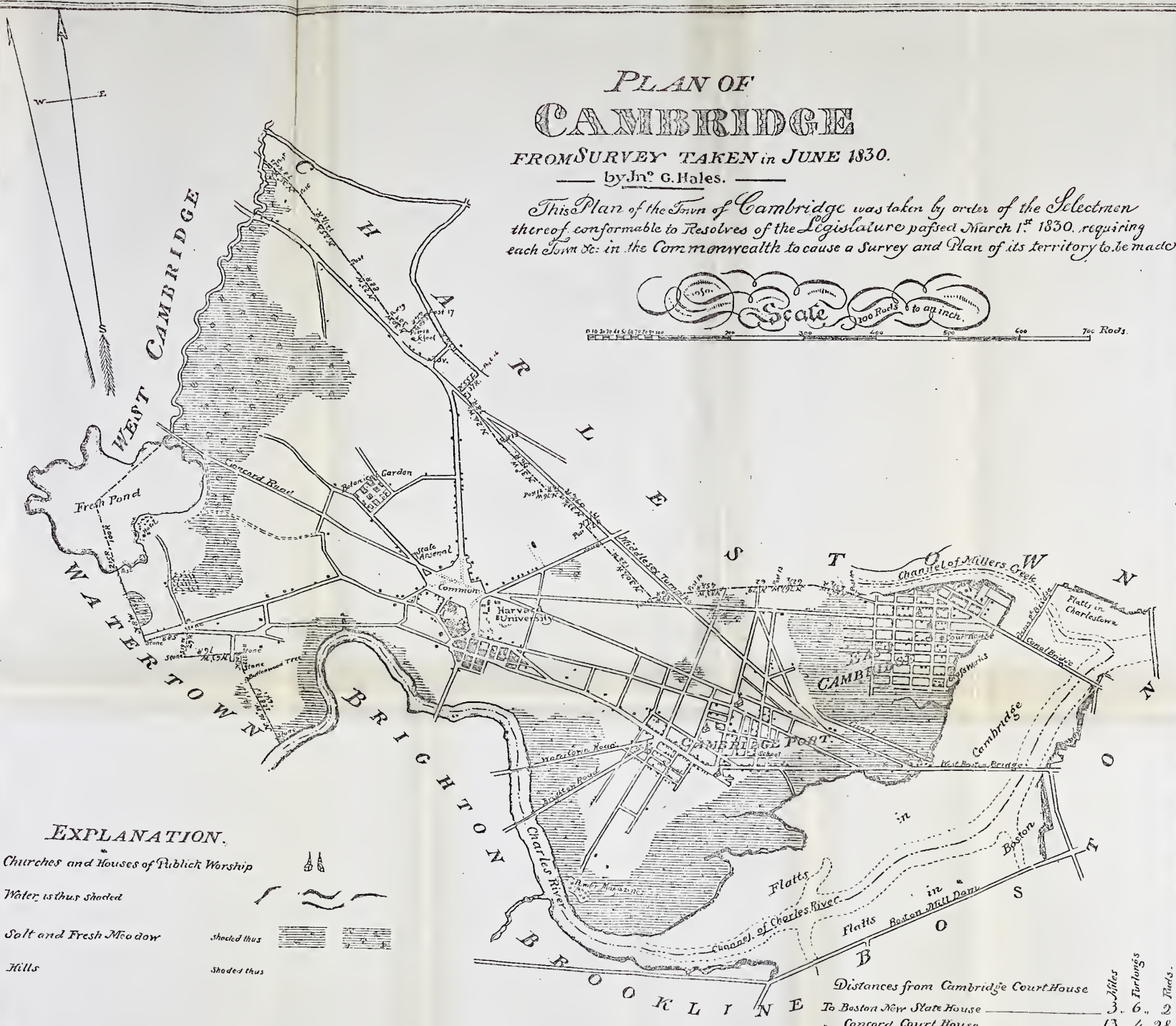
	Laid out
SODEN STREET, for Thomas Soden, landowner	1833
SPARKS STREET, for Jared Sparks, president of Harvard College, 1849–1853. An ancient way, the Watertown boundary until 1754.	
STORY STREET, for Judge Joseph Story	1865
THIRD STREET, Bridge Street to south of Charles Street, laid out in 1811, south of Charles Street laid out by county and called "Court Street" in	1832
THORNDIKE STREET, for Israel Thorndike, shareholder in Lechmere Point Corporation	1811
TRAILL STREET, for maiden name of grandmother of James Russell Lowell	1892
TROWBRIDGE STREET, for Judge Edmund Trowbridge	1838
TUFTS STREET, laid out over land formerly of Peter Tufts, Jr., keeper of the powder magazine, 1818–25.	
VASSAL LANE, for Vassal family, long residents in the vicinity, an ancient "Highway to Fresh Pond." Widened in	1888
WADSWORTH STREET, for Alexander Wadsworth, early surveyor	1902
WARE STREET, for Rev. Henry Ware	1834
WASHINGTON STREET, Norfolk Street to Moore Street	about 1824
Moore Street to Main Street	about 1840
WATERHOUSE STREET, for Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, about 1800. Laid out in	1724
WEBSTER AVENUE, first called "Medford Street," named Webster Avenue in	1856
WENDELL STREET, for Mrs. Katherine (Brattle) Wendell, daughter of Gen. William Brattle, called "Madam Wendell"	1847
WESTERN AVENUE, laid out and constructed by corporation in 1824–25. First called "Watertown Road." Taken by city and called Western Avenue on	Dec. 22, 1855
WILLARD STREET, for Joseph Willard, president of Harvard University, originally called "Liberty Street"	1843
WINDSOR STREET, laid out by Andrew Boardman in	1801
WINTHROP STREET, for Professor John Winthrop, formerly called "Long Street"	about 1632

PLAN OF CAMBRIDGE

FROM SURVEY TAKEN in JUNE 1830.

by Jnº G. Hales.

This Plan of the Town of Cambridge was taken by order of the Selectmen thereof conformable to Resolves of the Legislature passed March 1st 1830, requiring each Town &c: in the Commonwealth to cause a Survey and Plan of its territory to be made.



Distances from Cambridge Court House

	Miles	Furlongs	Rods
To Boston New State House	3	6	2
" Concord Court House	13	4	28
" East Cambridge Court House	2	2	20

EARLY MAPS AND MAP-MAKERS

Map of 1795.— In 1794, the Legislature passed a resolve that the several towns and districts in the state should have an accurate survey and map made of the town or district and file a copy of the plan with the Secretary of State. These maps were to show the boundaries of the towns or districts, the county roads, rivers, bridges, and other data. In response to the resolve the town of Cambridge engaged Mr. Samuel Thompson of Woburn to make the required survey and map, which is dated April, 1795. It is small and crude.

Map of 1830.— The Legislature by a resolve dated March 1, 1830 required another survey to be made and a plan on a larger scale drawn showing all the roads, both public and private, with other data. Mr. John G. Hales prepared this plan for the town, dated June, 1830, which is here reproduced and is valuable because it is the first accurate plan ever made which shows all the streets and houses existing at that date. The total length of streets here shown is about thirty-eight miles.

Map of 1838.— The town now had two plans showing its boundaries, highways, etc. There soon began to be trouble from the tendency shown by many property owners to encroach upon the public ways and appropriate — by the erection of buildings, fences, etc.— portions of the sidewalks to their own use. To remedy this tendency, the town in 1836 authorized the selectmen to employ a suitable person to make another "survey and prepare a plan with the streets properly defined as now laid out." The selectmen engaged Mr. James Hayward to do this work, and he made the survey and prepared the plan and a very excellent report, which is dated January 15, 1838, both of which are on file at the City Engineer's office in City Hall. The following brief quotation from his report will show that he took advanced ground for the construction of wide and attractive streets:

"It is to be regretted that we have so many narrow streets, when we have so much unoccupied territory. . . . Wide streets in a town are attended with several very great advantages to the citizens. They afford a freer circulation and a purer state of the air in the warm season. They operate as a protection against the spread of fires. They give opportunity for planting their borders with trees, which, being in themselves an ornament, and an additional security against

the spread of conflagration, afford in summer a comfortable shade to the house which they adorn, and the passengers who walk the streets, and tend to the greater health of the community by their effects on the atmosphere."

His forecast for the future growth in population, however, does not seem quite optimistic enough. He says, "In a place like Cambridge, which is not only cut up into avenues to the city, but which is besides, composed of several villages so closely united as to form one almost continuous Towne of about five miles in extent and which is constantly thronged, not only with strangers passing through the principal streets from the country to the city, and from the city to the country, but with a busy population of nearly *eight thousand* persons, it is highly important to guard from inconvenient encroachment and impediment of every kind, that portion of the public highway which is appropriated to the use of the many who walk.

"If building and immigration shall continue to increase in Cambridge as they have done for several years past, we are likely in a short time to number a population of *ten thousand souls.*"

It seems fitting that some mention should be made in this place of those men who, as engineers and surveyors, were instrumental in planning and laying out what has developed into quite a complete system of metropolitan streets, and who thus have performed an important public service in promoting a better civic and social life in this community. It is to be regretted that the information concerning the life and work of these men is so meagre, but the following are such facts as it has been possible to obtain regarding some of them.

David Fiske seems to have been the first man who was designated as a "surveyor" in the early town records. Mr. Fiske came from Watertown in 1646 and bought a lot of land then facing on the Common, now Linnæan Street, near Garden Street. His trade was that of wheelwright, and he seems to have combined that with public work and surveying. His early experience in Cambridge proved to have been a little unfortunate, for on September 4, 1646, the year of his arrival, it was ordered "David Fiske, for two hogs taken contrary to ye Town orderes is fined 8 p-"!

He frequently acted for the town in the capacity of surveyor and as a kind of referee for many years. In 1683, it is recorded that in a matter of a division of land near Concord, shown on a plot drawn by Ensign David Fiske, it was "ordered that Ensign Fiske is chosen sur-

veyor and it is left to him, Samuel Champne, and Samuel Stone, Sr., and John Watson, or any two of them, whereof the surveyor is to be one: First, to state and settle all county roads that ly through the land of the width the law directs, and then to lay out highways from the farms already settled in the common unto this Town, of two rods wide between the divisions where need requires a highway." Mr. Fiske moved to the "Farms" (now Lexington) about 1660 and died there in February, 1710/11, aged eighty-seven years.[1]

Samuel Danforth. The oldest plan of land in Cambridge found recorded at the Registry of Deeds, East Cambridge, was drawn by Samuel Danforth, Surveyor, dated March 27, 1739, and showed certain lands owned by Daniel Champney.[2]

Abraham Fuller. Another interesting old plan recorded in East Cambridge, dated April 14, 1760, shows a large tract of land on Brattle Street between Sparks Street and Fayerweather Street, belonging at that time to Lee, Marrett, and Thatcher, drawn by Abraham Fuller.[3]

Samuel Thompson was born October 30, 1731, and died August 17, 1820. He lived in Woburn, where he was a well-known surveyor. He was an ardent patriot in the Revolution and fought in the American Army. In compliance with the resolve of the Legislature of June 26, 1794, already referred to, the town of Cambridge engaged Mr. Thompson to make the required surveys and a map of the town, which was dated April, 1795, and is still in existence. This map is of interest, as it is the first official plan of the town known to be drawn from actual surveys.

Osgood Carleton, "teacher of Mathematics," as he styles himself, began the practice of surveying in the latter part of the eighteenth

[1] See further, p. 94, *post*.

[2] Danforth was one of the most prominent and useful men of his time in Cambridge — graduate of Harvard College in 1715, schoolmaster from about 1720, selectman, representative, member of the Council for thirty-six years in succession, justice of the peace, register and subsequently judge of probate for Middlesex till the Revolutionary War, and simultaneously judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He lived for fifty years on the easterly side of Dunster Street. At the outbreak of the war, like other Crown officers, he naturally espoused the royal cause, but was so "moderate" that his property was not disturbed. He himself, however, retired to Boston where he died two years later in 1777, aged about 81. He is buried in the old town burying ground in Harvard Square. (See Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 532).— Ed.

[3] Abraham Fuller was born in 1720, son of Joseph and Lydia (Jackson) Fuller and great-grandson of John Fuller, one of the original settlers on the "south side of the river" (now Newton). He was an extremely versatile genius, being a colonel, a judge, a surveyor and a representative for 18 years between 1764 and 1790. His wife was Sarah Dyer. Among other jobs he resurveyed the boundary between Cambridge and Charlestown (now Somerville) in 1771. See p. 42, *ante*.— Ed.

century, and a considerable number of early maps and plans of his relating to Cambridge are in existence, notably a plan of the causeway to the West Boston Bridge made in 1792, showing the lines and areas of land taken for the causeway.

Peter Tufts, Jr., born in December, 1774, was a well-known early surveyor who made a great many plans of estates and streets in Cambridge and adjoining towns. He was born and lived in that part of Charlestown now called Somerville, where he was the keeper of a powder magazine. He moved to Cambridge and became the keeper of the powder magazine at Captain's Island about 1818. He lived for several years on Magazine Street near the street now called "Tufts Street," which was laid out on land formerly held by him. His map of the Cambridgeport Parish, 1824, shows his estate with buildings, yards, duck ponds, etc., in detail. Many of his plans were embellished with a large, brilliantly colored compass point. Paige records the fact that Peter Tufts, Sr., was a contributor of 14 pounds 2 shillings to the enlargement of the Meeting House in Harvard Square about 1756, and that Peter Tufts, Jr., and thirty-three others were incorporated in 1822 as the "First Universalist Church in Cambridge." He died in 1825.

Alexander Wadsworth was born in Maine in 1806, came to Boston in 1825, and soon opened an office of his own, boarding at the "Bunch of Grapes" Tavern, the meeting place, it may be remembered of the Proprietors of the West Boston Bridge for many years.

Mr. Wadsworth prepared the plans by which Mt. Auburn Cemetery was laid out, also Salem Cemetery, and Pemberton Square in Boston. Of the many plans drawn by Mr. Wadsworth on record, a large proportion of them are of Cambridge properties, many of them being of the large estates, such as the Dana estate, Craigie estate, Fayerweather estate, and others. Mr. Wadsworth was active during his long life until extreme old age at his chosen work. He was a prominent member for years of the old "West Church" in Boston. He died in 1898 at the age of ninety-two years.

Stephen P. Fuller made many plans of the Lechmere Point Corporation and adjacent properties in the period from 1822 to 1865.

William A. Mason was born in 1815 and began to practice surveying in Cambridge in 1840, and the firm of W. A. Mason & Son still continues to carry on the work. Mr. Mason made many surveys for

street development and real estate sale in Cambridge and its immediate vicinity. He died in 1882.

The following are names of men who have done important work along the same lines, but of whom but little is now known.

James Hayward, plans date from about 1833 to 1837, and include a plan and report on the streets of the city, dated January 15, 1838, relating principally to encroachments of fences, etc., on sidewalks.[1]

Waldo Higginson and Samuel Holt, plans date from about 1842 to 1845.

Walter M. Wilson, plans date from about 1845 to 1875.

John Low, plans date from about 1845.

Whitwell and Henck, plans date about 1851.

John M. Batchelder, plans date from about 1863 to 1904.

Shedd and Edson, plans date from about 1859 to 1879.

Andrew Craigie, though not himself a surveyor, did more to change the map of Cambridge than any other man, and occupied a conspicuous place in the town's history from 1790 till his death in 1819. While he made numerous enemies and was not always overscrupulous as to the ethics of many of his transactions, yet his activity and shrewdness in carrying out his numerous schemes, many of which eventually proved of great public benefit, make the story of his life of more than common interest. Little is known of his early life, but September 5, 1777, he was appointed apothecary-general of the Northern Department of the Revolutionary army, from which his title of "Doctor" was derived. He was said to have made large sums from the purchase of supplies under his commission, also as a banker and speculator in this vicinity and in Philadelphia. January 1, 1792, he purchased the old John Vassall house on Brattle Street, which, during the Revolutionary War, had been used as Washington's headquarters, and at once made additions and elaborate repairs to the estate, which he enlarged, by purchases in the vicinity, to about one hundred fifty acres.

Of the many improvements which he made on the estate, the two which impressed the townsmen most seem to have been the ice house by which he could have ice in summer, and the hot house by which he

[1] Hayward was a well-known civil engineer and was employed on the original surveys and construction of the Boston and Maine and other railroads. His technical knowledge and business ability led to his steady advancement until in 1854 he was made president of the Boston and Maine. See further, on p. 69, *ante*.— Ed.

could grow flowers in the winter. It appeared to many like defying Providence by thus perverting nature! For some years Mr. Craigie lived here in princely style, entertaining his friends and relatives in generous manner. It is said that he at this time employed twelve servants. Toward the latter part of his life, his ventures proved not successful and he gradually became more and more involved in debt, until, toward the last, fearing arrest, he dared not venture out except on Sunday. He died suddenly of apoplexy September 18, 1819, leaving his widow in straightened circumstances. She was Elizabeth (or "Betsy"), daughter of the Reverend Bezaleel Shaw (H.C. 1762), long the minister at Nantucket, and a near relative of the Chief Justice.

He was the principal mover in many public improvements, the most important being the construction of the Canal (or, as commonly called, "Craigie's") Bridge, completed in 1809. In connection with this was the laying out and development of the Lechmere Point (now called East Cambridge) section, which covered an area of over three hundred acres, extending about to Inman Square and including the important avenues of Cambridge Street and Bridge Street. In this connection also, the County Court House (civil and probate) and the jail — after a considerable controversy — were located at East Cambridge in 1816, the land (including the buildings costing $28,190.78) being given by the corporation. He was also active in the laying out of a portion of Mt. Auburn Street between Elmwood Avenue and Brattle Square as already described, and also the laying out of Brattle Street from Elmwood Avenue to "Wyeth's Sign Post" at its junction with Mt. Auburn Street.

That his activities and methods did not always meet with the approval of his fellow townsmen is shown by the order for his prosecution for interfering in the laying out of the portion of Mt. Auburn Street already referred to, and still further (in the controversy arising from the laying out of Cambridge Street) by the references made to him in the report of a committee of the town appointed to oppose a petition dated June 6, 1809, addressed to the General Court, and signed by a Mr. Thomas H. Perkins and fifty-two others, requesting the appointment of a committee from that body "to explore, view, and mark out new highways from the westerly end of said bridge (Canal Bridge) to communicate with the great roads into the country, in such places as will best comport with common convenience and the public good."

The committee appointed by the town, Hon. Francis Dana, chairman, made a very vigorous remonstrance against this petition, stating that "the inhabitants of Cambridge and Cambridgeport are deeply afflicted by the incessant machinations and intrigues of Mr. Andrew Craigie in regard to roads," alleging that at the last session of the General Court, Mr. Craigie had caused to be presented the petition for the appointment of a committee with extraordinary powers as to laying out roads in Cambridge, and that while they seemed to come from disinterested persons, some of the signers were proprietors of the Canal Bridge or were owners of lands connected with the proposed roads, and that while Mr. Craigie's name did not appear on the petition, he nevertheless appeared at the hearings with two lawyers in support of the petition, while the petitioners themselves were absent, this being "a continuation of a plan by him and his coadjutors commenced in 1797 and invariably pursued to 1809 to turn the travel in that quarter, and the same game he is evidently now playing by the petition signed by T. H. Perkins and others."

The committee to whom this matter was referred reported that "it is inexpedient for the legislature to appoint any committee to view or mark out any of the highways aforesaid."

CONCLUSION

We have now traced with some detail the origin and history of many of the more important streets of Cambridge as they have been developed through a period of nearly three hundred years.

Beginning with the original "Way from Watertown to Charlestown," which could have been only slightly better than a cart path, and the eight little village streets of the original settlement of 1631, additional ways of travel were added as the needs of the community required until at the time of the first survey in 1794, there were about 12 miles of public ways. In 1830, at the time of the second survey, there were about 38 miles of ways in use. In 1846, when Cambridge was incorporated as a city, there were about 51 miles of roads in use. In 1875, there were 76 miles of city streets in use, and in 1918 there were 735 streets of all classes, having a total length of 125.2 miles. Meanwhile, the population and the material interests of the community had grown in corresponding proportion — very slowly at first and then with a constantly increasing ratio until at the present time

our city stands high in those things which make for the best in modern civic life. It may be of interest to look for a moment at the present street system of our city as representing the consummation of these long years of growth and development.

It is generally held by modern experts in street and city planning that the most efficient plan of the streets of a metropolitan district is one in which the larger centers of business, educational and civic interests are directly connected with each other by broad, straight thoroughfares, while the local and residential interests of neighborhoods and communities are served by systems of smaller or secondary streets and ways connecting with the main thoroughfares which form the trunk lines of travel and communication.

An examination of a modern map of Cambridge and its surroundings will show that while for a city of its size the railroad facilities for passenger traffic and accommodation are unusually poor, the system of streets as they now exist is admirably adapted to its requirements, while its civic centers are connected by broad and conveniently located highways with each other and with the spacious avenues of approach from Boston and adjacent municipalities. Upon these main avenues are located the major part of the electric surface car lines, while the subway from Harvard Square to Boston is, in Cambridge, located below the surface on the original location of the old horse-car line, first operated in 1856. An admirable system of secondary streets leads into and connects with those main avenues, furnishing ample facilities for the local traffic.

For the excellence of this street plan, the city owes much to the foresight and broadmindedness of the men of the earlier time who, in the days of small things, provided so generously for the needs of the generations yet to come.

The streets of Cambridge certainly have a great historic and sentimental value because of their association with the lives and deeds of the great men who have lived upon them, and whose honored names many of them bear; but their greatest value lies in the fact that they have been an important factor in the progress of this community toward a higher civilization and a better civic and social life.

The following is a list of maps and plans of Cambridge having historic interest, which have been examined in preparing the foregoing paper:

MAPS AND PLANS OF CAMBRIDGE

AT CITY ENGINEER'S OFFICE, CITY HALL, CAMBRIDGE

Date	Description	Maker	Filing No.
1759	Small scale map of Cambridge, Charlestown and Watertown, photo copy		A-284
1777	Military map Boston and vicinity, lithograph	Major Henry Pelham	144
1795	Official map ordered by legislature, photo copy	Sam. Thompson	A-284
1807	Boston and vicinity showing fortifications, in *Life of Washington*, copy	John Marshall	6246
1810	Cambridge E. of Harvard Square, with parts of Somerville, Charlestown, and Boston	Peter Tufts, Jr.	5216
1813	Cambridge W. of Harvard Square, original parchment	" " "	411
1824	Cambridge E. of Harvard Square	" " "	M-25
1824	" " " " " tracing of above	" " "	5082
1830	Official map ordered by legislature, photo copy	John G. Hales	A-284
1833	"Plan of Village in Old Cambridge," copy	Alex. Wadsworth	408
1837	Street map as ordered by the town, original	Jas. Hayward	5081
1838	" " " " " " " lithograph	" "	MV-31 and 5000
1854	Map of Cambridge, sale lithograph	H. F. Wälling	A-160
1858	Map of Boston and vicinity, sale lithograph	" " "	M-21
1865	Map of Cambridge, lithograph	J. G. Chase	46
1853–1900	Maps of Cambridge, taken from sundry city directories, lithographs		5000
1880	Map of Cambridge as of about 1635, lithograph, compiled by	C. D. Eliot	2000
1906	Vicinity of Harvard Square compiled and drawn from ancient data by	Geo. Lamb	6246
1918	Plans of Cambridge Common from surveys made in 1782, 1784, 1798, copies from Widener Library		6142

AT WIDENER LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

1782	Plan of Cambridge Common, original, from surveys by	E. H. Williams	105-26
1784	" " " " " " " "	J. Green	105-26
1798	" " " " " " " "	S. D. Parker	105-26
1777	Military map of Boston and vicinity, original	Major Henry Pelham	M-3355-12
1826	Plan of Boston and parts of Charlestown and Cambridgeport, actual surveys.	S. P. Fuller	MR-3360-4; 5
1801	Cambridge as of 1635, manuscript map		M-3450, 5
1833	Boston and vicinity, showing Boston, Cambridge, Watertown, Brighton, and Roxbury, small scale	J. G. Hales	M-3360, 4, 2

AT ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT, STATE HOUSE, BOSTON

Date	Description	Maker	Filing No.
1759	Plan showing portions of Charlestown and Watertown petitioning to be set off to First Parish, Cambridge, original		3d series, Vol. 37, p. 22
1795	Town plan, original	Sam. Thompson	Vol. 9, p. 5
1830	Town plan, original	John G. Hales	Vol. 2, p. 23
1830	Plan of center of Cambridge, college grounds, etc.		3d series, Vol. 46, p. 3
1838	Cambridge, plan of roads in	Jas. Hayward	3d series, Vol. 57, p. 2
1846	Map of Boston with parts of Charlestown and Cambridge		No. 2273

THE ENGLISH ANCESTRAL HOMES OF THE FOUNDERS OF CAMBRIDGE

By J. Gardner Bartlett

At the time of the settlement of New England, in the blood of the English nobility the Norman strain was still strongly preponderant; but of the blood of the great mass of the then five million population of England (the yeomanry, craftsmen, laborers, etc.), nearly two-thirds was Anglo-Saxon, the remainder being chiefly Norman, Danish, Briton and Roman, in amounts decreasing in the order named. This preponderance of Anglo-Saxon blood pertained especially to the counties of Suffolk, Essex, and Herts, whence were derived nearly two-thirds of the 25,000 English colonists who settled New England between 1620 and 1642. Those of our emigrants whose ancestors were of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, probably had considerable blood of Danish origin in their veins; while our emigrants from Devon and Cornwall had a considerable racial element of Celtic Briton origin.

From the foregoing considerations, two points of importance to our subject must be emphasized. First, our 25,000 emigrants from England comprised only about one-half of one per cent of the then population of England; and secondly, of that emigration nearly ninety per cent belonged to the yeoman or to the craftsman classes, and so were most largely of Anglo-Saxon blood in origin.

Americans who have not scientifically studied early New England and English history and genealogy, usually have erroneous ideas on these matters; they will generally claim that their ancestors in England bore a coat-of-arms and that their first ancestor was a Norman noble who came into England with William the Conqueror. Furthermore, persons with these ideas are generally ignorant of the origin and evolution of family surnames, so imagine that *all* persons of any one name all belong to one family and descend from one common ancestor; if they have names like Warren, Beaumont, Lacy, Tilley, Montgomery, Chamberlain, Gifford, Basset, etc., they feel certain they descend from the Conqueror's companions of these names; and those named Howard are sure they descend from the Dukes of Norfolk. Unfortunately, these erroneous ideas have been nurtured

by numerous false pedigrees that have been printed during the last seventy years, some of them compiled and published in ignorance, others as deliberate swindles. Most of these false pedigrees arbitrarily fasten the American emigrant onto an armorial landed or noble family of the same name, so as to claim a coat-of-arms. The publication of these fake pedigrees is deplorable, as once they are in print it is difficult to convince the descendants of their falsity. Among these fond delusions of descent from noble or landed armorial families of the same name, are the exploded pedigrees of Adams, Bigelow, Lawrence, Converse, Sears, Bartlett, Herrick, Seymour, Tracy, Sturgis, Bliss, Foster, Warren and Stevens, and the recent notorious Pomeroy swindle.

About ninety per cent of the founders of New England were of the best class of the English yeomanry; no peers or sons of peers, no baronets or sons of baronets, and but two knights, settled in New England; less than ten per cent were of the landed, mercantile or professional gentry; and only a little over one per cent have been *proved* to be of strictly armorial families; on the other hand, the proportion of scoundrels was small. Thus, although it is true that our ancestors in New England were strict in social distinctions, even in small country towns the people being seated in church according to their social position, nevertheless the range in rank was not very great from the landed and mercantile gentry down through the clergy, yeomanry, husbandmen and artisans to the laborers, these classes insensibly grading into each other down the scale. So, in a democratic community of equal opportunity, in the course of two or three generations, the bulk of the population of New England became welded together in a homogeneous stock of superior average worth, some of the great-grandchildren of armorial emigrants, like Saltonstall, Leete, Winthrop, Dudley, Bulkeley, Bruen, Cotton, Appleton, Chauncey, Chester, Talcott, Haynes, etc., having married into families who had risen in position, descendants of emigrants of the yeoman or the artisan classes.

Let us now return to our 25,000 early emigrants to New England. Of these, about 5,000 persons were the original male progenitor heads of families; the remaining 20,000 souls were their wives, children, and grandchildren whom they brought with them. We are therefore concerned with the subject of locating in England a few of the 5,000 male progenitor heads of New England families, of whom about 4,500 were of yeoman or artisan rank, about 500 were of the landed, mercantile

or professional gentry, and less than sixty have been proved to be of strictly armigerous families.

The early founders of New England did not generally come here at random by mere families and locate haphazard in the various settlements. On the contrary, the colonization was in large parties of families, relatives, and friends who had been acquainted and associated in England, emigrated together under the leadership of their respective nonconforming ministers, and located together in New England. For instance, Rev. John Cotton from Boston, England, had a large following from that region who settled in Boston, Mass.; Rev. Ezekiel Rogers was head of a colony of sixty families from the vicinity of Rowley in Yorkshire who founded Rowley, Mass.; and Rev. John Eliot was the spiritual leader of a band of emigrants from Hertfordshire and western Essex who founded Roxbury, Mass. It must not be thought that the followers of any one of these nonconforming ministers came merely from the parish in England where he resided; his influence often extended about the country for a radius of forty miles, and like a modern Billy Sunday he would attract an audience from miles around to hear him expound on the abstruse and hair-splitting points of theological controversies then rampant. At that time the public mind was completely engrossed in the absorbing question: What is orthodox in religion?

About two hundred families located in Cambridge before 1650 and may be considered the founders of the city, although less than half of these families continued here more than a generation. These founders may be arranged in seven divisions:

1. A group of ten families who started the settlement in 1631, with a view of making it the capital of the colony; none of these remained here permanently.

2. A company of about fifty families from Essex and Hertfordshire, followers of Rev. Thomas Hooker and known as the Braintree Company, many of whom came in the ship *Lion* in the summer of 1632, a year in advance of their leader, and most of whom removed with him to Hartford, Conn., in 1635.

3. A company of about seventy families from Essex, Suffolk, Yorkshire, and Northumberland, followers of Rev. Thomas Shepard, most of whom came about 1635 and bought up the homesteads which had been established by Hooker's company.

4. A group of about fifteen families from Kent, most of whom came

in 1635 and among whom was Rev. William Wetherell; only two of these founders remained permanently in Cambridge.

5. A party of five families associated with Rev. Jose Glover who came in 1638.

6. A few persons who came after 1640, probably through the influence of Rev. Henry Dunster.

7. A miscellaneous list of about forty families, the origins of twelve of whom are known, but of whose associations we lack information to show the influences causing their emigration.

Let us first consider the ten original founders of 1631, beginning with Gov. John Winthrop, who did not actually settle here although he erected a house, which he soon took down and removed to Boston. The Winthrop family probably derived their name from one of two parishes, Winthorpe, co. Nottingham, or Winthorpe, co. Lincoln. Gov. John Winthrop, lord of the manor of Groton in Suffolk, was born 12 Jan. 1587/8, son of Adam Winthrop, a lawyer of distinction, and grandson of another Adam Winthrop, the founder of the family fortunes, who was born in 1498, amassed wealth as a clothmaker in London, and in 1544 bought from the Crown the manor of Groton, where he settled. This manor had been seized by Henry VIII in 1539 from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds; thousands of mercantile families, like the Winthrops, became landed gentry about this time by purchasing from the Crown the vast estates sequestered all over England at the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539. In 1630 John Winthrop emigrated to New England as governor of the Massachusetts Colony, selling the manor of Groton that year.

Groton Church is a small but fine stone structure, part of which was built in the thirteenth century. In the chancel is a memorial brass to the Adam Winthrop who bought the manor and died 9 Nov. 1562; and about forty years ago Gov. Winthrop's distinguished descendant, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, installed in the chancel a large and beautiful stained glass window in memory of the governor. In the churchyard and against the corner formed by the outside walls of the chancel and south aisle may still be seen an altar tomb over the grave of Adam Winthrop, father of the governor. The Groton manor house occupied by the Winthrops was destroyed by fire soon after it was sold by the governor, but its location near a very ancient mulberry tree is still discernible. I recall with much pleasure the cordial hospitality I received on three visits to Groton from Rev. Mr. Wayman, who has

been rector of the parish since 1872. Groton, Mass., and Groton, Conn., were named for the old English parish.

Next let us take up that stern old Puritan, Thomas Dudley, the first deputy-governor of Massachusetts and later governor for four years. Recent investigations have established that he was baptized 12 Oct. 1576 at Yardley Hastings, a small rural parish eight miles southeast of the city of Northampton, son of Mr. Roger Dudley by his wife Susanna Thorne alias Dorne who was daughter of Thomas and Mary (Purefoy) Thorne alias Dorne; through the Purefoys, Thomas Dudley was connected with Sir Augustine Nicolls, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and was descended from fine old armigerous landed gentry of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. Cotton Mather informs us as to the parentage and some *maternal* connections of Thomas Dudley, but gives not one word or hint of any connection with the noble house of Dudley of Dudley Castle, barons of Dudley, earls of Leicester and dukes of Northumberland. For the past eighty years we descendants of Gov. Dudley have struggled in vain to connect his father, Capt. Roger Dudley, with the noble family. The gates of the beautiful park of Castle Ashby, the seat of the Earl of Northampton, open into the quaint village of Yardley Hastings; so it is not strange that the son of a deceased army officer of evident gentle birth should have become a member of the household at Castle Ashby, as related by Cotton Mather.

At the time Thomas Dudley settled in Cambridge in 1631, two of his sons-in-law also located there, Simon Bradstreet and Daniel Denison. Bradstreet is justly termed the "Nestor of New England" from an unparalleled record of continuous public service of sixty-two years, from 1630 to 1692. He was baptized at Horbling, co. Lincoln, 18 Mar. 1603/4, and was educated at that famous Puritan institution, Emmanuel College, Cambridge. His father, Rev. Simon Bradstreet, graduated at Christ College, Cambridge, in 1576, and was vicar of Horbling from 1596 until his death in 1621; but he was born in 1555 in Gislingham, co. Suffolk, son of John Bradstreet, and grandson of Simon Bradstreet of Redgrave and Gislingham, born about 1490. The family were prosperous landholders and appear on the subsidies or tax lists of Suffolk as early as 1327. The ancient church at Gislingham is sadly in need of restoration and offers an opportunity for some wealthy descendant of Gov. Bradstreet to create a memorial to this worthy Puritan founder of New England. His wife Anne

(Dudley) Bradstreet is celebrated as the earliest poetess of America. Her "Contemplations" display fine poetic talent, but her verse is not all of equal merit. My ancestress Anne evidently had a clever press agent, as a volume of her poems published in London in 1650 bears the grandiloquent title, "The Tenth Muse, Lately Sprung up in America."

The other son-in-law of Gov. Dudley, Maj.-Gen. Daniel Denison, was baptized at Bishop's Stortford in Hertfordshire 18 Oct. 1612, son of William and Margaret (Monck) Denison. The family were wealthy citizens of the town for several generations. Bishop's Stortford is situated about thirty miles north of London on the main railroad line to Cambridge, and has the prefix of "Bishop's" on account of the manor having belonged to the See of London from the time of the Norman Conquest. Fragments still remain of its old castle, built in Saxon times on the top of a small artificial hill. The church of St. Michael's is a fine, large, stone structure in the Perpendicular Style of the fifteenth century; its church wardens' accounts are preserved from 1431, probably the most ancient documents of this class in England, and beginning over a century earlier than any parish register. Daniel Denison graduated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1629, and after coming to New England was prominent the rest of his life as a deputy and assistant, and as major-general of all the forces of the colony.

Besides the four leading founders of Cambridge above mentioned, five others settled here in 1631, viz., Edmund Lockwood, Daniel Patrick, John Poole, John Kirman, and Simon Sacket; of none of these is the English origin known, although they probably all came in the Winthrop fleet in 1630 and doubtless were from Suffolk or Essex. None of them lived long in Cambridge or left descendants there.

Rev. Thomas Hooker and his company next claim our attention. This protochampion of American democracy was born in 1586 at Birstall, co. Leicester, and his ancestry has been traced back with certainty for three generations among substantial yeomanry in that neighborhood, thus disproving the pedigree published ten years ago in the "Hooker Genealogy," which purported to place him in the armorial Hooker family of Exeter, co. Devon. He graduated in 1608 at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, that intellectual nursery of chiders of prelates, and for a time was curate at Esher, co. Surrey. Here he lived in the household of Francis Drake (a wealthy and distinguished

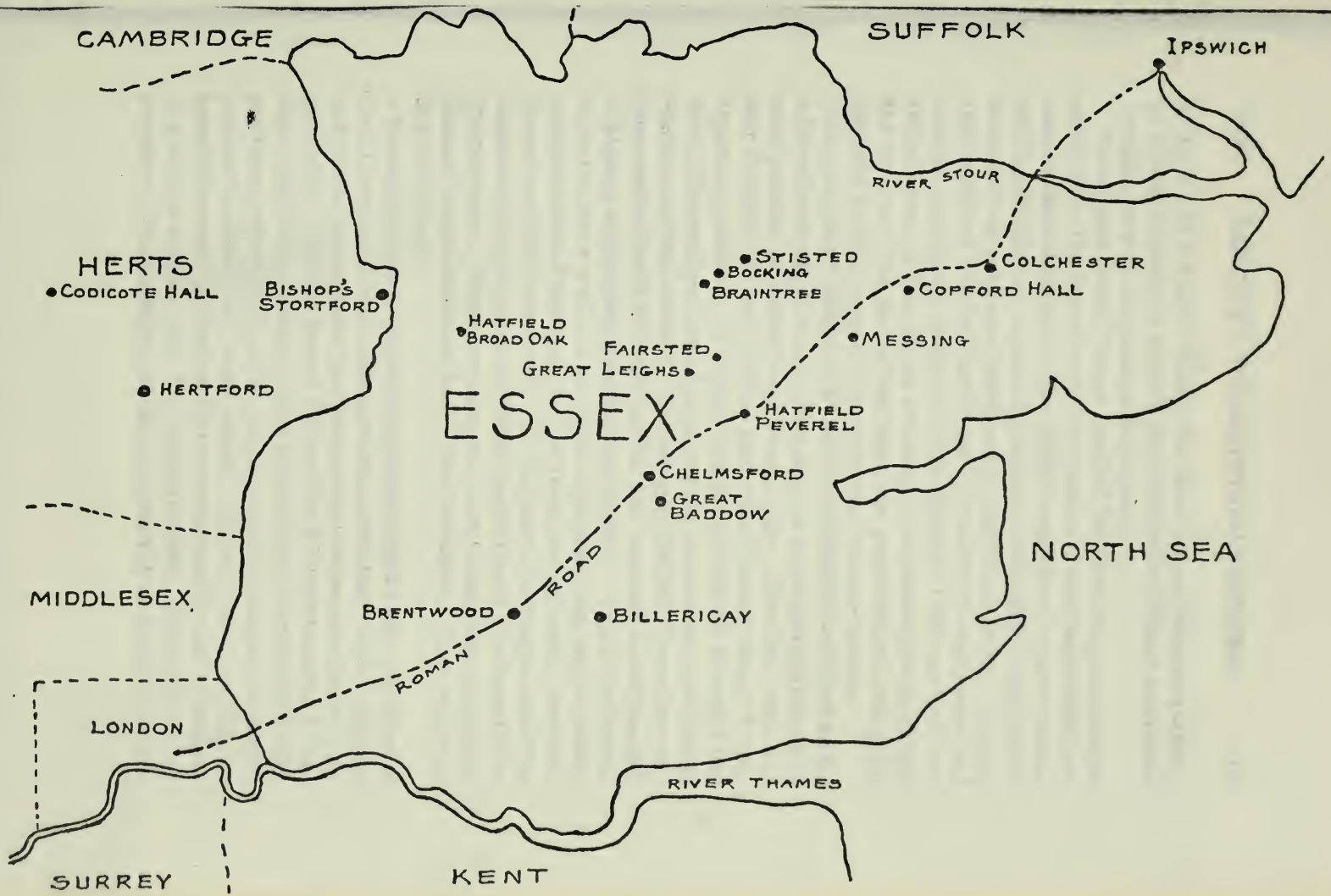
Puritan, formerly an officer in the household of Queen Elizabeth) and here he married the "waiting-gentlewoman" of Mistress Drake. We next hear of Hooker at Chelmsford, co. Essex, where he secured an appointment as lecturer, but in 1626 he was silenced by Archbishop Laud for promulgating "unorthodox" doctrines. Thereupon his preaching became limited to surreptitious gatherings, but he established a private school at Great Baddow, a suburb of Chelmsford, which he conducted four years. Then, the archbishop being warned that "unorthodox" doctrines were taught there, Mr. Hooker was summoned for trial before the Ecclesiastical Court, an inconvenience he eluded by collusive payment of his bail and a secret flight in 1630 to Holland, where he remained three years, part of the time serving as assistant to the celebrated Rev. Dr. William Ames at Rotterdam. Meanwhile a large party of his followers in Essex went to New England in 1632 and settled in Cambridge, and a year later Mr. Hooker joined them, coming to Boston in the ship *Griffin* in 1633. He at once became pastor of his old friends in Cambridge; but after two years he and his followers became dissatisfied with the theocratic oligarchy of Massachusetts under Gov. Winthrop, and therefore they removed from Cambridge and established a new settlement at Hartford, Conn., of which he was pastor until his death 7 July 1647.

About fifty settlers of Cambridge before 1635 may be clearly identified as followers of Hooker, and with three exceptions they were all from Essex or Hertfordshire, the region of his influence while at Chelmsford and Great Baddow. Of these fifty adherents, the exact places of origin are known of at least fifteen.

Let me now assume the rôle of conductor of a party of Cook's tourists and take you on a motor trip from London, running over the field of Hooker's influence in Essex and noting the homes of some of his followers. Leaving the city and striking northeast over the old Roman road to Colchester and Ipswich, after passing through the slums of Whitechapel, Bow, Stratford, and Ilford, we reach the open country, and after a run of twenty miles arrive at Brentwood. Here we will make a detour from the main Roman road, and turning to the east a ride of five miles brings us to Billericay, a town located on an eminence and the parent of our Massachusetts town of similar name. Here was the home of William Ruscoe who followed Hooker to Cambridge, Mass., and thence to Hartford. Turning north a five-mile run brings us to Great Baddow where Hooker for four years kept his

school. The lofty square tower of the fine old Baddow Church is mantled with ivy to its battlements, above which rises a small pointed spire visible for several miles. Continuing on two miles to the north we again reach the old main Roman road at a point about thirty miles northeast of London in the town of Chelmsford. This place existed in Roman times as Caesaromagus, being a half-way station on the main road to Colchester; but its modern name is of Saxon origin, derived from its position at a ford on the river Chelmar. The parish consists of two manors, Bishop's Hall formerly held by the See of London, and Moulsham formerly held by Westminster Abbey, both tenures extending from Saxon times until about 1540 when the manors were seized by that rapacious despot, Henry VIII, and sold to Thomas Mildmay. The ancient church of St. Mary, with walls of rubble and flint and a few traces of Roman brick, was erected about 1425; the massive western battlemented tower remains in its original state, but much of the remainder of the church has been extensively restored and rebuilt, largely from the old materials. Here Rev. Thomas Hooker preached as a lecturer, attracting large audiences from all over the county, and also attracting the notice of Archbishop Laud who, deeming Hooker's views to be unorthodox, forced him temporarily to silence. Twenty years later the people of England who had embraced Hooker's doctrines of democracy decided that the Archbishop was unorthodox and silenced him very effectually by chopping off his head.

Crossing the little river Can by an ancient stone bridge, we find ourselves in the manor of Moulsham. On the right a few rods from the bridge stands a dwelling house of Tudor times which is owned and occupied by a Rogers family who have possessed it from time immemorial. Of this family was John Rogers of Moulsham, born about 1510, who was great-grandfather of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich, Mass., who was the father of Rev. John Rogers, fifth president of Harvard College, and ancestor of our distinguished New England ministerial Rogers family. His descendants long claimed descent from the Marian martyr, Rev. John Rogers, a native of Warwickshire, who was burned at the stake in Smithfield, London, in 1555; but while the latter was thus displaying in fire his devotion to spiritual freedom, his contemporary John, the ancestor of the New England Rogers family, was making shoes in Moulsham. Among the modern objects of interest in Chelmsford are the buildings housing the famous grammar school of Edward VI, founded in 1551, and a bronze statue


CAMBRIDGE
SUFFOLK
IPSWICH
RIVER STOUR
HERTS
CODICOTE HALL
BISHOP'S STORTFORD
STISTED
BOCKING
BRAINTREE
COLCHESTER
COPFORD HALL
HATFIELD BROAD OAK
FAIRSTED
GREAT LEIGHS
MESSING
HERTFORD
ESSEX
HATFIELD PEVEREL
CHELMSFORD
GREAT BADDOW
NORTH SEA
MIDDLESEX
ROMAN ROAD
BRENTWOOD
BILLERICAY
LONDON
RIVER THAMES
SURREY
KENT


MIDDLESEX
ESSEX
HERTFORDSHIRE
CAMBRIDGE
SUFFOLK

of Lord Chief Justice Tindal, the town's most illustrious native. It is hardly necessary to state that Chelmsford, Mass., was named from this very ancient place in old England.

Taking again the old Roman road at Chelmsford we press on to the northeast. The Essex country in general is of rural aspect similar to eastern Massachusetts; but the English roadbeds are superior to ours, the English fields are bounded by high and thick hedges instead of the stone walls or rail fences familiar to us, and farm cottages with plastered walls and thatched roofs are seen instead of the clapboarded and shingled farmhouses common in New England. Also one will note that the barns in East Anglia are small, low structures, just to shelter the live stock; the hay is kept always in great stacks in the fields, thatched over the upper part for protection from the weather.

Six miles from Chelmsford we arrive at Hatfield Peverel, and taking a byroad to the northwest for four miles we reach the adjoining small rural parishes of Fairsted and Great Leighs. The little stone and flint churches of these parishes date from Norman times. Of our Cambridge adherents of Hooker, James and Richard Olmstead had lived in Fairsted and Great Leighs, and the brothers John and George Steele came from Fairsted. Returning to Hatfield Peverel we continue northeast on the Roman road for nine miles and reach the parish of Messing which is situated on elevated ground. The ancient church is located about a mile to the right of our main road and is a stone conglomeration of various styles, but the square embattled tower is of modern red brick construction. In this parish was fought one of the desperate battles between the Britons under Queen Boadicea and the Roman legions. From here came two of our Cambridge disciples of Hooker, Reynold Bush and John White, the latter of whom went with him to Hartford.

Four miles beyond Messing we come to Copford Hall, the home of Gov. Haynes, one of the noblest Puritans who came to New England and the one who suffered the greatest material losses for his religious convictions. He was born at Codicote Hall in Hertfordshire 1 May 1594, eldest son and heir of John Haynes, Esq., an armorial landed gentleman who died in 1605, leaving extensive estates in several parishes in Essex and Hertfordshire. Before 1624 Gov. Haynes bought the manor of Copford Hall where he resided until his emigration to New England with Mr. Hooker in 1633. Having served as governor of Massachusetts in 1635, he removed to Hartford in 1637

and was governor of Connecticut eight terms in alternate years until his death 1 Mar. 1653/4. His children by his first wife, Mary Thornton, remained in England, where his son Hezekiah Haynes became one of Cromwell's major-generals in the Civil War and succeeded to Copford Hall, which is still owned by descendants, although not of the name, which died out in 1763. By his second wife, Mabel Harlakenden, Gov. Haynes had five children born in New England, from whom many distinguished Americans descended. Copford Hall belonged to the See of London from Saxon times until the time of Queen Elizabeth, when on the death of Bishop Bonner in 1569 it passed to the Crown. This prelate took the leading part in the persecution of the Marian martyrs, over two-thirds of the three hundred who perished at the stake being condemned by him. During his tenure of the bishopric of London he resided part of the time at Copford Hall. The church of Copford was built in Norman times, and the interior is covered with the original frescoes.

Four miles beyond Copford Hall the Roman road brings us to Colchester, about fifty miles from London and one of the most ancient and interesting places in England. The town was established in Roman times and was one of their fortified *castra*, laid out in the usual form of a rectangle surrounded by walls and a moat, and having two main streets crossing at the center. After a lapse of over eighteen centuries extensive portions of these original walls, built of flint and Roman brick, still remain. In the time of William the Conqueror, a great stone castle was built here, of which only the ruins and the turreted keep, a majestic specimen of Norman architecture, now remain. These ruins have been converted into a museum containing a fine collection of Roman antiquities and the ancient archives of the town. The park outside the castle was the scene of the burning at the stake of twenty of the Marian martyrs of that region; and under the castle may still be seen the dungeons so often filled with victims of political vengeance or religious fanaticism. Other interesting features of the town include the remains of the two ancient monasteries of St. Botolph and St. John, and twelve ancient parish churches, two of them dating back to Norman times. The old town was badly damaged during the Civil War, when a Royalist force held it for three months when besieged by a Parliamentary army under Gen. Fairfax. In recent years the place has become an important industrial and commercial city with a population of about 50,000. Several of the early

settlers of New England came from Colchester; but I know but two who were followers of Hooker and came to Cambridge, viz.: William Bloomfield and John Talcott, the latter of whom was of a family of mercantile gentry formerly of Warwickshire.

We will now take leave of Colchester, and returning over the old Roman road as far as Copford we then strike westward over the very ancient main highway running across Essex to the borough of Hertford. After travelling about fifteen miles we come to Braintree, another parent town of a namesake in Massachusetts. Braintree and Bocking, although separate adjoining parishes, form practically, although not officially, a single town. The twin parishes are located on rising ground above a small river, and lie on the site of a Roman station. The streets of the double village are narrow and winding and are lined with houses, many dating from Stuart and Tudor times. St. Michael's Church in Braintree is situated in a spacious churchyard in the center of the town, and dates from the fifteenth century, although much restored. Its square stone tower is surmounted by a very high pointed spire covered with slate and spreading out at the bottom to cover the full size of the tower, an unusual feature in English rural churches. Unluckily the registers of this parish before 1660 have long been missing; and as many early founders of New England came from here, the loss is a great misfortune to us. The church of St. Mary in Bocking, also located in a spacious churchyard shaded by large trees, is a much larger and more interesting structure of flint and stone in the later Pointed Style. The ancient registers of this church were also long missing, but a few years ago were found, although missing in parts, and what exists from 1558 to 1639 was printed by the late James J. Goodwin of Hartford, Conn. Rev. John Wilson, pastor of Boston, was located in Bocking for a while. About 1570 a number of Flemish refugees settled in Braintree and established the business of cloth weaving which throve here for a long time. In recent years large modern crape mills and other factories have been established in both towns, considerably increasing their population. Of our early settlers of Cambridge who were followers of Mr. Hooker, it is known that William Goodwin was from Bocking and William Wadsworth and John and Nicholas Clark were from Braintree, although William Wadsworth was born at Long Buckby in Northamptonshire. Doubtless there were several other emigrants from Braintree, but the loss of the early registers prevents us from establishing the fact.

Continuing west from Braintree on the main highway, after a run of about fifteen miles, we observe a short distance to the south the parish of Hatfield Broad Oak, the large and ancient church of which is located on an eminence. In Hatfield Forest still stands the huge trunk and massive limbs of an enormous ancient oak, called the Doodle Oak, from which part of the parish name was derived. In this parish the Barrington family long had their residence at Barrington Hall. Several emigrants to New England came from here, including Andrew Warner who came to Cambridge but later followed Hooker to Hartford.

Five miles northwest of Hatfield Broad Oak we come to Bishop's Stortford (previously mentioned in the account of Daniel Denison), and in another fifteen miles we reach Hertford, the county seat of Hertfordshire, and a place of importance in early Saxon times. Of its five ancient church edifices but one, All Saints, now remains. Hertford Castle was originally built about the year 900, and ruins of a part of the ancient building still remain. The city is of interest to us as the parent town of Hartford, Conn., and also as the birthplace of Rev. Samuel Stone, who was baptized there 30 July 1602, graduated at the famous Puritan College, Emmanuel, in 1623, for a short time was lecturer at Towcester, Northamptonshire, and from 1627 to 1630 was curate at Stisted near Braintree where he became intimate with Hooker. In 1633 he accompanied Hooker to New England on the ship *Griffin*, became the latter's assistant at Cambridge and Hartford, and after Mr. Hooker's death was sole pastor at Hartford, Conn., for sixteen years until his own death 20 July 1663. Leaving old Hertford we run southward twenty-five miles to London, having covered in all during this trip about one hundred and forty miles.

A few other adherents of Rev. Thomas Hooker who came to Cambridge have been located abroad. Mrs. Joanna Ames was the widow of the celebrated Rev. Dr. William Ames of Rotterdam who died in Nov. 1663 and to whom Hooker had been assistant while in Holland. She was born about 1587, daughter of Giles Fletcher, LL.D., the eminent Elizabethan author and diplomat, who was ambassador from England to Russia in 1588. The noted poets Phineas Fletcher and Giles Fletcher were her brothers, and John Fletcher the illustrious dramatist was her own cousin. She came to New England in 1637

and died in Cambridge and was buried 23 Dec. 1644.[1] Leonard Chester was a nephew of Mr. Hooker, and was born at Blaby, co. Leicester, in 1610, eldest son of John Chester by his wife Dorothy, sister of Rev. Thomas Hooker. The Visitation of Leicester for 1619 as printed gives the pedigree and arms of this family of Chester of Blaby, Leonard being named as heir of John and then aged ten years. He came to New England with his mother and uncle in 1633, and after a short residence in Cambridge settled in Wethersfield, Conn. The Spencer brothers, William, Thomas, Michael, and Garrard, were in Cambridge before 1633, and three of them followed Hooker to Connecticut. I think, however, that they became acquainted with him in New England, as they were born and lived at Stotfold in Bedfordshire, which is quite remote from the scenes of Hooker's evangelism in England. Earlier generations of the family lived near by at Edworth in the same county.

Of the rest of Hooker's company who first located at Cambridge, there remain to mention Jeremy Adams, John Arnold, John Barnard, John Benjamin, Richard and William Butler, Joseph Easton, Edward Elmer, Nathaniel Ely, Richard Goodman, Stephen Hart, John Hopkins, William Kelsey, William Lewis, Richard Lord, William Manning, John Maynard, Abraham Morrill, John Pratt, Nathaniel Richards, Thomas Scott, Edward Stebbing, George Stocking, Richard Webb, and William Westwood. The *exact* English home of none of these has been made public to my knowledge; but we can be quite sure that practically all of them came from County Essex.

Rev. Thomas Shepard and his adherents formed the next company of settlers in Cambridge. This zealous and fiery Puritan minister was born 5 Nov. 1605 at Towcester, co. Northampton, a thriving town eight miles south of the city of Northampton. It is situated on Watling Street, the famous Roman road which starts at Dover and runs through Canterbury, London, St. Albans, Towcester, Atherstone and so on west to near Shrewsbury. Towcester was one of the Roman stations, remains of which are still discernible. Mr. Shepard's parents and relatives were Puritans, and he graduated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1623. From 1627 to 1631 he was lecturer at Earls Colne, co. Essex, and secured a large following in that vicinity. Having been silenced by Archbishop Laud he fled to Bossal in Yorkshire

[1] I think the parentage and distinguished connections of Mrs. Ames have not heretofore been known or made public. The account of Dr. Ames in the *Dictionary of National Biography* erroneously refers to her merely as Joane Sletcher.

where he remained a year and secured more adherents. In 1632 Bossal became unsafe and he removed to Haddon, a suburb of Newcastle-on-Tyne in Northumberland, and in two years secured a new following in that region. Urged by his adherents to emigrate with them to New England, in June 1634 he went by ship from Newcastle to Ipswich in Suffolk; after a year in that region, on 10 Aug. 1635 he sailed from London in the ship *Defence* with his company, and on arriving in Boston they at once settled in Cambridge where he served as pastor until his death 28 Aug. 1649.

Let us take another motor ride over eastern Suffolk and northern Essex to visit the homes of some of Mr. Shepard's adherents. There is hardly a parish in this region that did not furnish at least one early emigrant to New England, and the nasal twang and the dialect among the rustics of the Stour Valley between Suffolk and Essex remind one of the old rural speech of New England. We will start at Sudbury, a town which existed in Saxon times, is situated on the northern bank of the river Stour, and has winding streets with many picturesque old houses. The town has three ancient stone and flint churches, St. Peter's and All Saints erected in the fifteenth century and St. Gregory's built in the fourteenth century. Simon Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1375 to 1381, was a native of this parish, and, being obnoxious to the Bolsheviki of Wat Tyler's short-lived rebellion, was seized by them and relieved of his head, which was put on a pole on London Bridge. A week later the head of Wat replaced that of the Archbishop, which was removed to Sudbury and may still be seen in a grated niche in the walls of St. Gregory's Church. The great artist Thomas Gainsborough was born in Sudbury in 1727 and several of his early landscapes depict scenes in the Stour Valley, a lovely region still favored by artists. Sudbury, Mass., was of course named for this old town in England, whence came several of our early emigrants; but William Wilcox is the only one of them known to have settled in Cambridge.

Going east from Sudbury, an eight mile run brings us to Groton (the home of Gov. Winthrop before mentioned) and five miles farther to the northeast we come to Lindsey and Semer, the former being the native parish of the brothers Richard and Justinian Holden of Cambridge, and the latter the birthplace of Clement Chaplin, another early founder of Cambridge. Lindsey is a very decrepit-appearing place; several of the old houses in the village lean toward the street at


NORWICH
NORFOLK
FRESSINGFIELD
MELLIS
LAXFIELD
WESTHORPE
CAMBRIDGE
BURY ST. EDMUNDS
FRAMLINGHAM
SUFFOLK
NORTH SEA
SEMER
CLARE
RIVER STOUR
LINDSEY
IPSWICH
RIDGEWELL
SUDBURY
GROTON
CASTLE HEDINGHAM
NAYLAND
RIVER ORWELL
STRATFORD
LITTLE MAPLESTEAD
DEDHAM
RIVER STOUR
HALSTEAD
BURES
HARWICH
PEBMARSH
EARLS COLNE
GREAT BROMLEY
ESSEX
COLCHESTER

alarming angles, most of the farms have a shiftless aspect, and even the parson who was the incumbent when I visited the parish was a most unkempt individual. Continuing east, a fifteen-mile run brings us to Ipswich, a port from which sailed a large number of emigrants for New England, and the parent of our Massachusetts town of the same name. The town was of importance as early as Saxon times, until long after the Norman Conquest was called Gyppeswic, and is located at the head of the Orwell River or estuary, eleven miles from its mouth at Harwich on the North Sea. The town of Ipswich has twelve ancient churches with square towers built of stone and flint, most of them constructed during the fifteenth century. The Sparrow House erected in 1567, and the birthplace of Cardinal Wolsey built in 1471 are well-preserved specimens of Tudor dwellings; the former is now used as a book store and tea room, while the latter is occupied by a "chemist" or druggist. William Andrews and Richard Girling were the Ipswich adherents of Shepard who came to Cambridge.

Striking northeast from Ipswich, at a distance of eighteen miles we come to Framlingham, the parent of our Massachusetts town of similar name. As Framalingaham it was a fortified stronghold in Saxon times, and after the Norman Conquest a massive stone castle was built on a hill, which is now a picturesque, ivy-clad ruin, although the walls and towers are practically intact. The walls are nearly fifty feet high and eight feet thick, and extend between thirteen battlemented towers, each nearly sixty feet high. The stronghold encloses an area of over an acre, and was surrounded by a moat. This castle for over two centuries, from about 1400, was most of the time part of the vast estates of the illustrious Mowbray and Howard families, Dukes of Norfolk, although often temporarily seized by the Crown when these nobles engaged in unsuccessful rebellions or were on the losing side during the Wars of the Roses and so lost not only their castles but also their heads (concretely speaking). The fine old church is a large structure of mixed Decorated and Perpendicular work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, has a lofty square tower nearly a hundred feet high, and is built of stone and black flint. In the interior are several magnificent monuments and tombs of the Howard family. In this parish long resided the prosperous yeoman family of Danforth, of whom Nicholas Danforth came to Cambridge in 1635. He was father of Hon. Thomas Danforth, baptized in Framlingham 20 Nov. 1623, for nearly forty years Massachusetts' most

strenuous champion against the doctrine of the divine right of kings.

We next drive north about eight miles over beautiful rural country and come to the pleasant and attractive parish of Laxfield; the stone and flint tower and nave of its church date from the fifteenth century, but the chancel is a hideous structure of modern white brick. Here is located the manor of Stadhaugh, comprising manor house and over a hundred acres of land. This estate was the homestead of the armorial Fiske family, during three centuries beginning about the year 1400. About 1635 several members of this family came to New England, among them David Fiske who early located in "Cambridge Farms," now Lexington.[1] The present manor house of Stadhaugh was built in the time of Henry VIII and is a picturesque ell-shaped stucco mansion, originally surrounded by a moat, part of which still remains. This manor was finally acquired by one John Smith, who at his death in 1718 bequeathed it to the parish for philanthropic uses. The picturesque guildhall, opposite Laxfield church, was built in the fifteenth century and is still used for public parish purposes.

Proceeding five miles farther north we arrive at Fressingfield, another charming rural parish. The church is of Decorated and Perpendicular work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the roof and seats have especially beautiful carving. William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1677 to 1690, was born in Fressingfield in 1617, resided here during the Commonwealth and also after he was forced out of his office, and was buried in the churchyard here in 1693. Nathan Aldis of this parish, where members of the family still live, came to New England about 1638 and was in Cambridge a short time, but permanently settled in Dedham.

We now push westward some fifteen miles over more hilly country and then come to Mellis, a rural parish with houses scattered on the fringe of a large green or common. The church was originally built in the Early English style of the thirteenth century, but was considerably altered about 1500. In 1730 the ancient tower fell down and has not been replaced. Here, as in very many Suffolk manors, the custom of Borough English prevails, whereby copyhold lands descend to the youngest instead of the oldest son of a family. From Mellis came about 1645 Nicholas Wyeth, founder of a Cambridge family resident here to this day; and it is to be noted he followed the Borough English custom of Mellis by leaving his homestead in Cambridge to his young-

[1] See p. 70, *ante*.

est son. He married first in England about 1630 Margaret Clarke, born at Westhorpe (four miles from Mellis) in 1600, sister of Dr. John Clarke the distinguished Baptist founder of Newport, R. I.

From Mellis we take the main Norwich-to-Bury-St.-Edmunds highway, and a run of twenty miles southwest through beautiful country brings us to the latter town. Many New England founders came from here, including Clement Chaplin of Cambridge, although he was born at Semer as before stated. Of Bury St. Edmunds I will merely mention the wonderful ruins and remains of the Abbey, once the grandest monastery in England, the superb Norman tower erected about 1090, and the magnificent parish churches of St. Mary and St. James, built mostly during the fifteenth century. Continuing south from Bury about fifteen miles we arrive at Clare, formerly the seat of the Earls of Clare, who were also lords of the Honour of Clare, a great feudal barony having jurisdiction over many manors both in Essex and Suffolk. Of the former great castle of Clare only a fragment of the keep on the top of a hill now remains.

Crossing the Stour we will now take a little trip on its south shore in Essex, first coming to Ridgewell which has the usual fifteenth-century church, but in recent times its exterior walls have been plastered over. Here our Barnabas Lamson of Cambridge resided before his emigration. Proceeding southeast five miles we pass, on a hill to the left, the massive keep of Hedingham Castle, a stone structure about sixty feet square with walls about twelve feet thick and rising to a height of over a hundred feet to the top of its square corner turrets; this castle was built about 1130 and for five centuries was possessed by the illustrious de Vere family, Earls of Oxford. Five miles more brings us to Halstead, now a town of over six thousand inhabitants. In this parish is Stansted Hall, a large, many gabled, brick, Elizabethan manor house, owned and occupied from 1590 to 1613 by Thomas French who became lord of this manor by marriage to an Olmsted heiress. His fourth son, William French, was baptized at Halstead 15 Mar. 1603; and for many years it has been generally claimed in America that he was identical with our William French of Cambridge in 1635. A descendant of the latter, after several pilgrimages of admiring worship to this supposed ancestral manorial shrine, discovered that William French of Stansted Hall died unmarried in England in 1637! *Sic transit gloria mundi!* But there was another William French baptized in Halstead in 1606, son of William

French of "The Leete," who possibly may have been Shepard's fellow-passenger on the ship *Defence* in 1635.

Two miles north of Halstead we pass through Little Maplestead, where stands one of the four small circular churches in England built by the Knights of St. John during the twelfth century. Two miles east of Little Maplestead we come to the parish of Pebmarsh, the church of which in the Decorated Style was erected in the first half of the fourteenth century. Here was the ancestral home of George and Joseph Cooke of Cambridge, their eldest brother Thomas Cooke entering the pedigree and arms of this family of armigerous landed gentry in the Visitation of Essex in 1634. Turning south we come in three miles to Earl's Colne, a manor purchased from the Earl of Oxford in 1583 by Roger Harlakenden, an armigerous gentleman from Kent, where his pedigree is traced back ten generations to Norman times at Warehorne and Woodchurch. His grandson Roger Harlakenden, baptized at Earl's Colne 2 Oct. 1611, came to New England in the ship *Defence* in 1635 and settled in Cambridge. His sister Mabel Harlakenden came with him and became the second wife of Gov. John Haynes, as already mentioned. Michael Leppinwell, another early settler of Cambridge, was from the adjoining parish of White Colne, where he was baptized 19 Feb. 1603.

Proceeding five miles towards the northeast we come to Bures St. Mary, a parish situated on both banks of the Stour and so in both Suffolk and Essex. Several emigrants to New England came from here, of whom Herbert Pelham was the most important, and the only one who settled in Cambridge. He was of an ancient landed and knightly family and was born in 1600, son of Herbert Pelham of Buxstepe in the parish of Warbleton, co. Sussex, a family estate for several generations and still standing; his mother was Penelope West, daughter of Lord Delaware. He made a great match by his marriage in 1626 to Jemima Waldegrave, heiress of Ferrers Court in Bures, and a descendant of a very ancient knightly family of Essex. The old church of Bures St. Mary, which has been largely rebuilt in recent years, contains several fine monuments and brasses of the Waldegrave family.

We have now crossed the Stour at Bures into Suffolk and follow the river easterly about five miles to Nayland. Here resided for nearly twenty years prior to his emigration in 1635 Gregory Stone, who also brought with him to New England his stepson John Cooper.

Both settled permanently in Cambridge, the former on Garden Street opposite Shepard Street; the latter built in 1657 on Linnaean Street the ancient house still standing there, the oldest building in Cambridge. Dr. Thomas Parish of Cambridge, the next-door neighbor of Gregory Stone on Garden Street, also lived in Nayland.

Continuing easterly along the northern bank of the Stour, a charming ride of about seven miles brings us to Stratford St. Mary where we again cross the river and find ourselves in Dedham in Essex. Here preached for over thirty years the famous Puritan minister "Roaring John Rogers," born in 1572, died in 1636, eldest son of Thomas Rogers of Moulsham in Chelmsford, and father of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich, Mass. The soubriquet of this doughty Puritan lecturer doubtless indicates his method of expounding the Gospel. A lecturer in the Church of England is a minister voluntarily engaged and paid by the people of a parish or maintained by endowments left for that purpose, generally to preach or lecture once a week. During the growth of Puritanism in England, many nonconforming Puritan ministers secured these positions, conflicting with the vicar or rector. In Dedham an endowment maintains a lectureship to the present day. Three of the early founders of Cambridge were from Dedham, namely Edmund Angier, John Cooper, and Nathaniel Sparhawk.

A five-mile run southward from Dedham brings this trip to an end at Great Bromley, the birthplace and ancestral home of Gregory Stone, although he lived at Nayland for the score of years prior to his emigration, as already noted. The church of Great Bromley is a fine old structure of rubble, brick and flint, mainly in the Perpendicular Style of the fifteenth century; the fabric consists of chancel, clerestoried nave, two aisles, a small south chapel, a south porch and a pinnacled western tower in which hang six bells.[1] In 1904 a beautiful stained glass window, in memory of the brothers, Gregory and Simon Stone, was unveiled and dedicated in this church, the gift of descendants in America. I would like to see a stained glass window in memory of each early founder of New England placed in the church of his native parish by his American descendants, as a recognition of the tie of blood that binds this old American stock to the mother country.

Among other followers of Shepard who settled in Cambridge were Roger Bancroft, Thomas Blodgett, Robert Bradish, John Bridge,

[1] For an illustration of this church see these *Proceedings*, vii, 72.

William Buck, Christopher Cane, Richard and John Champney, Edward Collins, Gilbert Crackbone, Robert Daniell, Richard Francis, Edmund Frost, John Gibson, Edward Goffe, Richard Hassell, John Hastings, Thomas Marret, William Patten, Richard Park, Thomas Prentice, and William Russell. While the *exact* places of origin of none of these emigrants have been made public, it is safe to state that nearly all of them were doubtless from either Essex or Suffolk. William Holman was from Northampton, which is only eight miles from Towcester, and so he may have known Rev. Thomas Shepard in his youth; and Samuel Shepard was the latter's brother and came with him to Cambridge.

While Rev. Thomas Shepard was living and preaching at Bossal in Yorkshire, Thomas Brigham, Thomas Crosby, and the latter's son Simon Crosby, all of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, co. York, evidently fell under his influence, and so followed him to Cambridge. Holme-on-Spalding-Moor is a parish lying about fifteen miles southeast of the city of York, in the midst of a great flat and low plain. In the northern part of the parish rises to the height of a hundred and fifty feet a small oval-shaped hill, so regular in outline as to look artificial in construction. On its summit, surrounded by trees, stands the venerable parish church, with a square tower, from the top of which a fine view can be had for many miles, the lofty spires of York Minster being clearly discernible fifteen miles to the northwest. Except for this hill, much of the parish was a swampy moor until about a century ago. In ancient times, so difficult was the crossing of these dreary wastes, that the lords of the manor maintained on the edge of the moor a cell for two monks as guides for strangers, one acting as conductor, while the other was praying for the safety of the travellers, the monks alternating at the two offices. As I have walked across the windswept plain during a bitter blizzard, covering the two miles from the railroad station to the village of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, I can realize the praying monk's duty was much the more comfortable.

While at and near Newcastle-on-Tyne in Northumberland, Rev. Thomas Shepard obtained quite a number of adherents from that vicinity who accompanied or followed him to Cambridge, viz., Guy Bainbridge, Thomas and William Bittlestone, Thomas Chesholme, Widow Elizabeth Cutter and her sons Richard and William, Widow Ann Errington and her son Abraham, Edward and Thomas Hall, Robert Holmes, John Sill, Andrew Stevenson (or Stimpson), John

Swan, John Trumbull, Isabel Wilkinson, and Edward Winship. Concerning the region whence came this band of emigrants, I will follow the discreet example of Benjamin Franklin when examined by the House of Commons concerning the Stamp Act, and being asked what he knew about Newfoundland, replied, "I have never been there."

We will next give our attention to the group of fifteen families from Kent who located about 1635 in Cambridge, and will begin with Rev. William Wetherell. He was a native of Yorkshire, born about 1601, and graduated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1623. He soon secured a position as teacher in the Free School at Maidstone, co. Kent, but having become unorthodox from the prelatical viewpoint, and being suspected of imparting undesirable heresies to the youthful mind, he found himself *persona non grata* as a pedagogue. So early in the spring of 1635 he came to New England with a party of Kentish emigrants in the ship *Hercules*, and located in Cambridge. After teaching school a few years in Cambridge, Charlestown, and Duxbury, in 1644 he became pastor of the Second Church in Scituate, where he served forty years until his death 9 Apr. 1684. Nearly all these emigrants from Kent were from the southwestern and central parts of the county, known as the Weald of Kent, which before the Norman Conquest was a vast, heavily-wooded forest and sparsely settled. Throughout this county prevails the custom of gavelkind, a land tenure by which a man may devise his lands by will, and if he dies intestate they are equally divided among all his sons instead of descending wholly to the eldest son, as is the general usage in England, or to the youngest son as in manors having the custom of Borough English.

Of this group of emigrants from Kent who settled in Cambridge, William Pantry and perhaps Stephen Post had been fellow-townsmen of Mr. Wetherell in Maidstone. This place existed in Roman times and is now a manufacturing city and railroad center of 40,000 population. The great church of All Saints, mostly built during the latter part of the fourteenth century, is one of the largest parish churches in England and has the unusual feature of having its square embattled tower located on the south side of the nave instead of at the western end. The populace of Maidstone were active in the peasant rebellions of Wat Tyler in 1381 and Jack Cade in 1450. The grammar school where Mr. Wetherell taught was founded in 1536 and established in its present modern buildings half a century ago.

Three miles southwest of Maidstone is the small parish of West Farleigh with a correspondingly small church, part of which is of Norman style of the twelfth century. Dolor Davis was of this parish before coming to Cambridge. Eight miles to the southeast of West Farleigh is the low-lying parish of Staplehurst, the native place of Jonas Austin, baptized 3 Dec. 1598, and Samuel Greenhill, baptized 11 July 1605, both of whom became early settlers of Cambridge. Staplehurst Church shows three periods of architecture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Three miles farther southeast is Frittenden, where the ancient church was taken down about 1850 and replaced by a modern stone structure; the old registers however are preserved from 1558. Our Moses Paine of Cambridge was baptized in Frittenden 23 Apr. 1581, and his ancestral line has been traced back there for several generations. The railroad station for Frittenden consists of a stopping point in a field, whence the walking is good or bad, according to the season, for a distance of two miles to the village.

Eight miles west of Frittenden is the parish of Horsmonden, the birthplace of that worthy Puritan, Major Simon Willard, who was baptized there 8 Apr. 1605, and on emigrating to New England at first located in Cambridge, which lost a valuable citizen when he removed to Concord. Among his distinguished descendants of the Willard name were two presidents of Harvard College and the late Frances E. Willard, founder and president of the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union; a memorial tablet to her memory has been placed in Horsmonden Church, but the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral was the place chosen for a memorial to the colonist Major Simon Willard. Earlier generations of this family resided in Goudhurst and Brenchley, parishes adjoining Horsmonden.

Five miles southeast of Horsmonden is the thriving and prosperous-appearing parish of Cranbrook, for three centuries after 1350 the most noted place in England for the manufacture of broadcloth. The church is an unusually large and handsome edifice of the fifteenth century and has a fine stained glass triple window, erected in 1902 to the memory of Rev. William Eddy, vicar here from 1591 to 1616 and ancestor of the Eddy family in America; also a tablet to the memory of Dr. Comfort Starr, baptized here 6 July 1589, who settled in Cambridge in 1635. Five miles south of Cranbrook is Hawkhurst, where on 2 Jan. 1602/3 was baptized Thomas Hosmer who located in


ESSEX
NORTH SEA
LONDON
RIVER THAMES
SURREY
MAIDSTONE
WEST FARLEIGH
KENT
CANTERBURY
CHILHAM
EASTWELL
STAPLEHURST
BRENCHLEY
HORSMONDEN
GOUDHURST
FRITTENDEN
BIDDENDEN
CRANBROOK
HAWKHURST
STRAITS OF DOVER
SUSSEX

Cambridge in 1634 but moved to Hartford the next year. Ten miles northeast of Hawkhurst is Biddenden, the native parish of two more of our Cambridge founders, Thomas Besbeech, baptized 3 Mar. 1589/90, and Thomas Beal, baptized 25 Mar. 1599. Biddenden was another famous place of broadcloth manufacture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the old Cloth Hall is still standing, but now used as a dwelling. Fifteen miles northeast of Biddenden is the parish of Eastwell, the register transcripts of which show the baptism on 10 June 1610 of Samuel House, son of John House the rector there, and a proprietor of Cambridge in 1642. Six miles northeast of Eastwell lies the parish of Chilham, the old home of John Fessenden who appeared in Cambridge in 1637. Another six miles farther to the northeast is Canterbury, a place so familiar to everyone that no further mention of it is necessary. From here came Daniel Cheever who settled in Cambridge about 1640.

Three small groups of Cambridge founders next require brief notice. Reverend Jose Glover was born in England about 1597, son of Roger Glover, a wealthy London merchant. He was perhaps educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, and from 1624 to 1635 was rector of Sutton in Surrey. After a short visit to New England in 1635, he returned to England and for over two years assisted in the plans for establishing Harvard College. In 1638 he again sailed for New England with his family, bringing with him a printing outfit, mechanics to run it, and several servants. He died on the voyage, but his widow Elizabeth (Harris) Glover soon married Reverend Henry Dunster, who in 1640 became the first president of Harvard College. In Mr. Glover's party was Stephen Day of Cambridge, England, who set up and operated in Cambridge, Mass., the printing press of Mr. Glover, the first press established in America. William Boardman from Cambridge, England, a stepson of Mr. Day, and John and Robert Stedman, probably from Sutton in Surrey, were other members of Mr. Glover's party and also settled in Cambridge. Richard Harris, a brother of Mrs. Glover, born at Blechingley, co. Surrey, in 1617 and graduated at New College, Oxford, in 1640, later came to Cambridge, Mass., where he died 29 Aug. 1644, unmarried.

Rev. Henry Dunster was baptized at Bury in Lancashire, 26 Nov. 1609, graduated at Magdalen College, Cambridge, in 1630, and for several years taught school and preached in his native place. He came to New England in 1640, at once became the first president of

Harvard College and continued in office until 1654. Having become an Anabaptist, the Overseers feared he might ensnare the students in his unorthodox ideas, and labored ("with extreme agony" says Cotton Mather) to rescue him from his errors. But Mr. Dunster remained obdurate, so was removed from office and went to Scituate in the Plymouth Colony, where more tolerance prevailed and where he preached five years, until his death 27 Feb. 1658/9.

A letter is preserved, written to Mr. Dunster by his father, dated at Bury, 20 Mar. 1640/1. He mentions receiving four letters from New England from his son, and also states, "I do not know of any that you sent for that intend to come *as yet.*" This expression indicates that some relatives or friends of Mr. Dunster were contemplating following him to New England. While positive legal proof is lacking, I feel absolutely certain that one of these adherents was Richard Dana, who was in Cambridge about 1642, and that he was identical with Richard Dana baptized at Manchester Cathedral 31 Oct. 1617, son of Robert and Elizabeth (Barlow) Dana. Manchester is only nine miles from Bury, the home of Dunster, and the name Dana is extremely rare in England and in fact has been found before 1700 solely in Manchester and at Kendal in Westmoreland where Robert Dana, father of Richard, was undoubtedly born, and where the family was living as early as the time of Henry VIII. The records at Kendal clearly show that Dana was a shortened form of Dawney, a family name on record in Westmoreland as early as 1327. Manchester was founded in Roman times, and had grown in 1640 to a town of only six thousand inhabitants; so could Richard Dana, like a Rip Van Winkle, now return to his native place, he would certainly be bewildered in finding himself in the greatest cotton-cloth manufacturing city in the world with a population of nearly a million. Other early Cambridge settlers after 1640 who were probably followers of Dunster were Richard Eccles, Richard Oldham and Humphrey Bradshaw; these are very common family names in and about Bury and Manchester.

In conclusion there need to be briefly mentioned twelve other founders of Cambridge whose English origins are known, but who are not associated with any of the five parties of emigrants previously mentioned. The first "master" of Harvard College, Nathaniel Eaton, that wretched prototype of Wackford Squeers, was born in 1609 at Great Budworth in Cheshire, son of the local vicar. Matthew Allyn was baptized 17 Apr. 1605 in Braunton, co. Devon; Andrew

Belcher was from London; Francis Foxcroft, born in 1657, was a son of the mayor of Leeds in Yorkshire; Thomas Hitt was from Folkingham, co. Lincoln; and Daniel Gookin, born about 1613, came here from Virginia, but his father was of an ancient armorial and landed family of Ripple and Beakesbourne in Kent. John and Edward Jackson were baptized in Stepney, London, 6 June 1602 and 3 Feb. 1604/5 respectively; James Kidder was from a family of East Grinsted, co. Sussex; Cary Latham was baptized 10 Nov. 1613 in Aldenham in Hertfordshire, and Samuel Wakeman was a native of Bewdley, co. Worcester. John Adams was baptized in Kingweston, co. Somerset, 4 Dec. 1622, son of Henry Adams, and came to New England about 1638 with his father's family, who soon located in Braintree, Mass., where Henry died in 1646.

Rev. Charles Chauncey was baptized 5 Nov. 1592, son of George Chauncey, a member of an armorial and knightly family located for six generations at Gedleston (or Gilston) in Hertfordshire and for ten generations previously at Skirpenbeck in Yorkshire. Mr. Chauncey graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1613, and from 1627 to 1637 was vicar of Ware in Hertfordshire. Being persecuted for nonconformity by Archbishop Laud, he came to New England in 1637, preached three years at Plymouth, and from 1641 to 1654 was pastor of Scituate. He became an advocate of immersion instead of sprinkling for baptism, and the latter being then the orthodox form for New England, Mr. Chauncey found himself in *hot* water with the authorities. But being offered the presidency of Harvard College on condition of recanting his heresy, and being less obdurate than Dunster, he agreed to conform, and in 1654 succeeded the latter, and remained in office until his death 19 Feb. 1671/2.

FORTY-EIGHTH MEETING

THE FORTY-EIGHT MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was a special "garden party" held on the afternoon of Saturday, June 7, 1919, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Henry D. Tudor — "The Larches" (the old Gray estate), Brattle Street and Larch Road.

The members first gathered in the parlor, and Mrs. Tudor read the following account of the old house (prepared by her brother, ROLAND GRAY, ESQ.).

THE WILLIAM GRAY HOUSE IN CAMBRIDGE

At 22 Larch Road, a short distance north of Brattle Street, stands the William Gray house, now owned by Mrs. Henry D. Tudor, which has been occupied successively during more than a century by Mrs. Tudor's great-grandfather, William Gray, his son John Chipman Gray, and the latter's nephew of the same name, long professor at the Law School, from whom it descended to his daughter, Mrs. Tudor. Both this house and the little old farmhouse just north of it were moved in 1915, after Professor Gray's death, from a position facing on Brattle Street near its intersection with Mt. Auburn Street, and just west of the entrance to the old private way known as Fresh Pond Lane, a portion of which is still preserved as a part of a road recently laid out from Fresh Pond Parkway.

The age of the smaller house is not known, but it bears in its interior many marks of old-fashioned methods of construction, and was undoubtedly in existence in 1801, when the land on which it stood at the corner of the "County Road to Watertown," as Mt. Auburn Street was then called, and Fresh Pond Lane, was sold by Ebenezer Wyeth to Jonathan Hastings, son of Jonathan Hastings who was steward of Harvard College. Hastings built his mansion in front of the Wyeth house, facing towards the County Road, and the two houses were connected with a passageway so that the smaller served as an ell to the larger. Brattle Street did not then extend west of the present location of Elmwood Avenue.

According to tradition, Hastings had not finished the house in 1808 when he sold it to William Gray, familiarly known as "Billy Gray,"

in those days the greatest shipowner of Salem, who moved his residence from Salem to Boston in the following year, and from that time until his death in 1825 passed his summers in Cambridge. Here lived, as a child, his granddaughter Lucia Gray Swett, who married the artist, Francis Alexander, and passed the greater part of her century-long life in Florence with her talented daughter Francesca, the friend of Ruskin. Mr. Gray's choice of this situation was perhaps influenced by its proximity to the residence of his friend, Elbridge Gerry, whose political running-mate he was in 1810 and 1811, when Gerry was elected governor, and Gray lieutenant-governor. From Mr. Gerry, Mr. Gray purchased, shortly after his acquisition of the Hastings house, a tract of over thirty acres to the west of Fresh Pond Lane, running back to Fresh Pond, and also a piece of land to the south of the County Road, which now forms part of Mt. Auburn Cemetery.

For over fifty years, from 1825 to 1881, the elder John Chipman Gray made this estate his summer home, and from the latter date until 1915, his nephew, Professor Gray, lived there a portion of every year.

The date of the house is not exactly known, but appears, from the facts above stated, to have been a little before 1808. Neither is the architect known; but the details of the woodwork and the applications in relief upon the mantelpieces are very similar to those known to have been produced by Samuel McIntire, the celebrated wood carver of Salem. The windows in the roof, the porch in the rear of the mansion house, and the eastern end of the small house, are recent additions. The fine fence with larch cones on the posts was designed towards the end of the last century by Mrs. John Chipman Gray, the younger, and later removed from Brattle Street to its present location.

The garden in the rear of the house in its present situation includes a part of the old gardens, which were laid out for the most part by John Chipman Gray, the elder, a devoted patron of horticulture. He planted a great variety of foreign trees and American trees not indigenous to this neighborhood, such as the Japanese gingko, Scotch larch, English oak, Australian pine, Norway spruce, European linden, rowan tree, mulberry, tulip tree, virgilia, catalpa, Judas tree, black walnut, umbrella tree, southern cypress, etc. There was also a clump of sassafras trees, some very old chestnuts, and a grove of shellbark hickory. One of these last, which was blown down more than fifty years ago, was supposed to have been the largest of its kind. In spite

of the fact that the greater part of the estate is now cut up into building lots, many of these trees are still standing. The long row of larches on the eastern edges of the place, a few of which are now living, gave their name to Larch Road, and to the house itself, which has been known for forty years as "The Larches."

Mrs. Cornelius C. Felton read the following account of a member of the Gray family.

MRS. ALEXANDER AND HER DAUGHTER FRANCESCA

My acquaintance with Mrs. Alexander and her daughter began in Florence, Italy, in 1883. They were then living at Hotel Boncianni, Piazza Santa Maria Novella.

The Boncianni is an old historic hostelry; a tablet on the front facing the cathedral bears the inscription that here Garibaldi rallied his forces in a patriotic address at the struggle for the unification of Italy. Mrs. Alexander's entrance and stairway were always guarded by a heavy iron grill, and one had to ring and await the arrival of the venerable porter, who conducted you up the two flights of marble stairs to Mrs. Alexander's apartment. There above, you were met by Edwidge, the faithful maid, who assisted you to lay off outside wraps and show you to the salon, a high stately room, hung with tapestries and crimson damask, ornamented with marble busts of emperors and cardinals and many interesting relics — the two greatest, original paintings by Giotto and Ghirlandajo.

Mrs. Alexander tripped in gaily and kissed us affectionately in foreign fashion on both cheeks. She was rather short, full of vivacity, wore a white muslin cap and curious handsome ornaments. Francesca dressed very plainly, and in the fashion which prevailed about fifty years ago, at the time she left America. Her lovely nature shone out in her expressive face. She had a quick nervous way of talking with an old-fashioned Yankee pronunciation which was noticeable in her fluent and correct Italian. She was not handsome, and her appearance was rather rustic and immature, but there was wonderful simplicity in everything she did and said. Mother and daughter adored each other and agreed in everything.

I recall various pleasant visits, but one in particular when we were all invited to dinner (including my baby and nurse) at 4 P.M.— their usual hour. The elders sat down to a sumptuous and lengthy meal,

while the baby was put for a nap on a richly carved marble sarcophagus. After dinner, Mrs. Alexander said, "Fannie will sing for you by and by." We requested her to do so, and she went to the piano and sang or chanted several simple airs with Italian words. They were partly religious and partly joyous — called *rispetti* by the peasants, from whom she had learned them. It was an odd and quite remarkable performance, as she had made piano accompaniments for the airs, and her memory for the words was unfailing. Her manner was modest and simple, and one felt she sang to please her mother. Mrs. Alexander looked the picture of content when Francesca sang. They seemed like people who had remained in some peaceful dream, while the rest of the world hurried on, but thankful for an occasional glimpse of this Arcadian innocence.

Francesca's sanctum, where she worked at her pen-and-ink sketches, was a tiny room at the top of the hotel, among the roofs and chimneys, giving a free view of the city and mountains, as well as a strong light; and what lovely creations she produced, there in her sky parlor! The only implements of her work were large sheets of white drawing paper, her tiny stylographic pen, and an inkstand of either black ink or sepia. She often received her friends in her studio, and while she talked or sang, her pen flew along over the paper, bringing out, as if by magic, bouquets of flowers, angelic faces of children, groups of country people at their various occupations in their surroundings. The penmanship of Francesca was exquisite, and the songs were written down as she sang them, in a joyous simple spirit. You only wished everyone could be as happy and carefree over their work, while as successful.

The principal works which she published were: "The Story of Ida," a touching recital of patience under suffering; "The Roadside Songs of Tuscany," edited by Professor Ruskin; "Hidden Servants," a collection of stories, some of them taken from old Italian books which she had read, and which she thought were suited to children. These stories she translated into English rhymes, and she had a rare gift for doing it. The first important work of Francesca, which I saw, but which was never published, was a volume of pen-and-ink drawings illustrating a simple Tuscan story called *La Sorellacia,* or the bad sister. This she presented to Mrs. Quincy Shaw of Boston, who had given her a sum of money in aid of the poor Florentines to whom Mrs. Alexander devoted herself.

The story is of a humble peasant woman, the sister of a priest and of a nun (called "the good sister"). *La Sorellacia* was the mother of a large family of small children, and so busy with her household cares that she could not find time to go to mass very regularly. Her brother, the priest, came to pay her a visit, reproving her for her neglect of religious duties, and offering at the same time to stay with her children while she went to church. *La Sorellacia* accepted the offer. Dressed in her wedding gown, her black lace veil, looking very lovely, she said good-by to the family and left her brother in charge of the baby and children, and started joyfully for mass, chatting with her neighbors on the way. She had a quiet, happy hour in church, but when she returned home she found her brother at his wit's end, and the children crying and quarrelling. Taking her baby from his arms, she soon had them all in a state of harmony. The result was that the priest declared *La Sorellacia*, the bad sister, was more of a Christian than either he or the good sister, the nun.

The whole work is exquisite; the trees and wayside flowers, the campanile, the people whom she meets, all are cleverly depicted. The original copy of this precious book, done by Miss Alexander's own hand in pen and ink, has been kept with greatest care, but Mr. Shaw had it reproduced by photography, page by page, so that each of his five children should have a copy. The results were remarkably successful, as will be seen in the beautiful volume which is loaned to us today through the courtesy of Mrs. Quincy Adams Shaw, Jr. What gave the work an especial value to Mrs. Shaw was that the family of *La Sorellacia* were portraits of her own children, who were between the ages of twelve and two years.

In these years the Alexanders spent the summer months at Abetone in the Pistojan Mountains, a day's journey from Florence, and many subjects for her drawings were taken from that picturesque region, also many songs and *rispetti* were collected there. We had never contemplated going to this remote village, but a general epidemic of cholera which visited Italy decided us to avoid seaports and cities, and we hastily took flight to the mountains.

The journey began with a train to Pistoja, where we took an open carriage to drive us to Abetone. Our pair of little ponies was adorned with red tassels, and had jingling bells attached to their harnesses. This was a merry accompaniment on the journey, adding much to the happiness of our one-year-old *bambina* and her Tyrolian nurse, as the

ponies trotted smartly along over the smooth, hard roads. These soon became very steep, and our coachman kept up a constant chirruping and cracking of his whip to urge his steeds. We passed through many villages, over fine stone bridges, and had lovely views across the hilly country.

At about 5 P.M. we entered the *Castania* or chestnut tree country, and here we wished to stop and call upon the Stillman family, who were living in a villa on the highway. Our driver knew where to stop, as he said *forestieri* often went there. The delightful Stillmans were expecting us, and all came out on the porch to receive us. Mr. Stillman was the soul of cordiality to his friends, and we were led into an immense salon, partly studio, partly living room, which expressed the pursuits and tastes of the occupants. There by an open fire we had tea, and rested in the genial atmosphere, charmed by our beautiful hostess and her three tall, graceful daughters.

As we still had an hour's ride of steep mountain climbing, we put on our warm wraps, especially guarding the sleepy baby, and called the carriage. Meantime the coachman had refreshed himself with a glass of Chianti or *vino santo*, and with a change of horses we started briskly on. As we left the villa the Stillman family again assembled on the porch to bid us farewell. The picture of the group remains a sweet memory, as I have never seen them again.

The road constantly grew more mountainous. Slowly, we climbed up the steep and winding way, and left the *Castania* or chestnut tree region for the *Abetone* or great hemlock forest. This forest belongs to the royal domain, and no tree can be cut or trimmed without government supervision. It is a noble possession — the fragrant green of the great trees lined the roadway and made an imposing approach to the mountains.

The sun had set, and twilight was almost over when we arrived at the solid stone inn where we were to stop. Lights were a welcome sight to the tired travelers; we were pretty stiff and cold and ready to go inside, where large open fires were burning. The hotel was different from anything we had seen before, a new experience, as we had never stayed in the country in Italy. It was bare and empty, but clean, and the bed linen, though coarse, was white and inviting. And the same with everything — food plain but good. On the way we were almost afraid we had been rash in attempting the journey, but instead were agreeably surprised. We had heard that Italians of

the upper class resorted here, and we now understood why they liked it.

Mrs. Alexander and her daughter did not live in the hotel, but had a cottage very near by. The next morning we went to see them, and found other visitors — some Italian peasants, who were their dear friends, all calling Francesca by her own name. Mrs. Stillman had told us that the Alexanders had nothing to do with the fashionable hotel guests, but walked out mornings and evenings when other people were indoors. This was a habit of later years, since Abetone had become more known and fashionable. Edwidge, the maid, usually went with them, and we got accustomed to seeing the three going early in the morning to the summit or top of the pass, where a wide view extended across the whole region.

Francesca often remained to work on her drawings in the mornings, and Mrs. Alexander returned home to sew and knit for the children of the peasants. At evening again they took the same walk when the hotel guests were dining. This was the most lovely hour of the day, late sunset. Sometimes I sat with Francesca while she worked in the mornings; she was finishing a series of sketches ordered by Mr. Ruskin — mountains, trees, rocks and peaks, also a waterfall, which she declared was the hardest thing she had ever attempted.

This summer was probably the most eventful period in the lives of both mother and daughter. They were in constant correspondence with Prof. John Ruskin, and his letters were a source of undisguised pleasure and pride to them, especially to Mrs. Alexander, who felt that her daughter's unusual qualities and gifts were appreciated by one of the foremost judges of art and literature. The rare modesty of Francesca was never more charmingly displayed than now, and her childlike happiness in her mother's joy was beautiful. The letters were indeed very interesting. At that time Mr. Ruskin was founding and encouraging a School of Technical Art at Sheffield, England, and he desired Miss Alexander to furnish certain specimens of her work to illustrate his ideas — he gave the most minute directions as to the drawings. These letters were interspersed with friendly and intimate accounts of his life, his occupations and reading, as well as opinions on public concerns. His critical spirit was shown, but also his noble and keen discernment, and a charming friendliness.

His acquaintance with Mrs. Alexander and her daughter had been brought about through Mr. Newman, an American artist in Florence.

Mr. Newman was a beautiful worker on the same line of art as Mr. Ruskin. His exquisite water colors of Florentine architecture, as well as Italian scenery, were the admiration of Mr. Ruskin, and they often met. Mr. Newman told Mr. Ruskin of the work of Francesca and perhaps may have shown him a specimen of it; but however that was he asked permission to take Ruskin to see Francesca in her studio. So after a friendly visit with Mrs. Alexander he was conducted up the narrow stairway to the top of Hotel Boncianni to Francesca's tiny workroom. There, among the roofs and chimneys, she evolved her lovely visions of angelic children and her wonderful flower decorations to Italian folk songs.

Mr. Ruskin was quite overcome, not only by her conscientious and beautiful work, but by her modest attitude and her unconscious simplicity in everything. The devotion to this work in her remote studio pleased him immensely, and also the relation of mother and daughter filled him with delight. The spectacle of such sweet affection, he said, was a source of infinite happiness to him, and their independent way of living was as great a surprise to him as anything. It seemed to be a new vista, and he was enthusiastic in his admiration of both ladies.

This first visit was followed by many others, and when he left them the correspondence began, and lasted as long as he lived. I am not sure whether Mr. Ruskin made another visit to Florence, but I think he did.

When the drawings which he ordered for his Sheffield school were finished, they were bound in vellum; but Mr. Ruskin wrote Francesca not to attempt to send the book by express or any usual method — that he would send a messenger for it. Some weeks elapsed, when one day a little Quaker lady appeared with a letter from Ruskin, saying she was the messenger. She was also an unusual type of person, and interested the Alexanders greatly. They gave her the book of drawings, which had been a whole year's work, and Mr. Ruskin paid a handsome sum for it. When it arrived in England, the book was unbound, and each page was exhibited separately.

While at Abetone we were so fortunate as to hear Francesca read some of the Ruskin letters — but now comes a sad mystery. The letters were carefully preserved and arranged by Mrs. Alexander in sequence, and no one else was supposed to meddle with them — but the whole correspondence has disappeared. No one can give the slightest clue to it, and its loss was a terrible trial to Mrs. Alexander.

I heard that Francesca tried to comfort her mother, and said, "But we read them so often that we knew them by heart."

After twenty years I was again in Florence, and one of my first desires was to see the Alexanders, who still lived in Hotel Boncianni. Early one afternoon I directed my steps toward Piazza Santa Maria Novella, and soon found the old hotel with the Garibaldi tablet in front; but I had forgotten exactly where the old entrance was, and had to ask the neighbouring grocer. "Oh, yes," he said, "the *forestieri*," and pointed out the iron grill above the regular entrance. I rang the bell, and awaited the footsteps of the approaching custodian, which seemed to patter very slowly. But what was my surprise to find the same venerable porter, who looked only a little older. He examined my card critically, and said he would take it up to the *Signore*. Soon returning, smiling, he ushered me upstairs. There above was not Edwidge, but her grand-daughter, who received my wraps. I felt much hesitation in entering; I knew I had changed a good deal, and that they also must have changed, and it seemed quite a solemn moment. If I had not received a cordial note from them I should not have dared to make the visit.

She opened the dining room door, where Francesca was about to lunch with an intimate friend from Pisa. Francesca came forward in the same affectionate manner, and in her quick way of talking, just as she used to. But she was bent over with rheumatism, and seemed much older. She wore a heavy woolen shawl and mittens. She said her mother was not quite as well as usual, but would I not take luncheon? She and her friend then stood a moment in silence, to say grace before sitting down.

Cabinets of rare china and Venetian glass lined the walls of the dining room, but otherwise everything was most simple. The Pisan lady was in a hurry to take her train, and soon left, and then I had a lovely talk with my dear friend Francesca. She said she was almost helpless, could not knit or sew, as her hands were very stiff, and that her eyesight was very feeble. When I expressed regret that she could no longer make her lovely drawings, she said, "Oh, I have done my share, let others do it," so cheerful and resigned.

When taken in to see Mrs. Alexander I was amazed at her unchanged appearance. As Francesca said, "She looks years younger than I." If I am not mistaken she was sewing without eye-glasses, at the age of 93. We sat in her room by the open fire, and chatted

for half an hour. "Generally I walk around the piazza every day," she said, "but today was so very windy I thought it too unpleasant." There was no elevator, so she had to climb several flights of stairs. Her memory seemed unimpaired, and she recalled the different members of our household and asked affectionately for each, smiling sadly when speaking of friends who were no more; but still she did not remain sad. "I suppose they are all in Mt. Auburn," she said; and then with a droll smile, "Miss C. says there are more distinguished people buried in Cambridge than in Mt. Auburn. I was born in Cambridge, in my grandfather's, William Gray's, home, before Mt. Auburn existed."

Since writing the above account of my last visit, my dear friend Francesca has joined her mother, from whom she was separated scarcely a year. It was with a feeling akin to joy that I heard of her release from her crippled body. I have not heard the details of her last hours, but I am sure she was brave and cheerful to the end, with the hope of joining the blessed saints whom she had loved so fondly.

In connection with this paper there were exhibited a photograph of Francesca Alexander at the age of sixteen, given by Mrs. Alexander to Miss Alice M. Longfellow, and a copy of *La Sorellacia* described in the text, the property of Mrs. Quincy Adams Shaw, Jr. Mrs. Felton also read the sonnet "To Francesca Alexander" by James Russell Lowell, and the poem "The Story of Ida" by John Greenleaf Whittier.

After remarks by Mr. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana on the Reverend Samuel Longfellow,[1] born one hundred years ago this month, the members adjourned to the garden, where tea was served.

[1] For a full biography see Joseph May's *Samuel Longfellow, Memoir and Letters*. Boston, 1894.

FORTY-NINTH MEETING

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE FORTY-NINTH MEETING, being the fifteenth annual meeting of the Society, was held on the evening of October 28, 1919, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Philip L. Spalding, 121 Brattle Street.

The President, William R. Thayer, called the meeting to order. The minutes of the last meeting were read and allowed.

Voted that the President appoint a committee of three to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

On this committee the President appointed Mr. Spalding, Mr. Frank Gaylord Cook, and Miss Alice Durant Smith.

The Secretary read the following report:

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY AND THE COUNCIL

By vote of the Council their report is incorporated with that of the Secretary.

The most notable public meeting of the Society for several years was that held in Sanders Theatre on February 22, to commemorate the centennial of the birth of James Russell Lowell. This celebration was undertaken with some hesitation as to the public interest felt today in a man of letters whose best-remembered productions were those linked with two wars which have become ancient history in comparison with the world convulsion from which we are now just emerging. It was an unexpected satisfaction therefore that this meeting proved to be one of the best attended and most enthusiastic ever held under the auspices of the Society. The demand for tickets taxed the committee (under the devoted management of Mr. Bailey) to the utmost, applications being received from New York, New Hampshire and other distant points. The addresses by President Eliot and Prof. Bliss Perry and the poem by Mr. Percy MacKaye were of such high excellence that they were published in a special "pre-print" from the Society's *Proceedings*, as well as in various papers and magazines. The occasion was marked by several appropriate con-

comitants. By the courtesy of Mr. Charles Henry Davis, the Lowell homestead at Elmwood was open during the afternoon to as large a number of visitors as could be accommodated. A special exhibition of Lowell's books and manuscripts was given in the Widener Library under the supervision of Mr. William C. Lane. A prize competition on "James Russell Lowell as a Patriotic Citizen," open to pupils in the schools of Cambridge, was won by Mary M. Twomey; second prize, Ruth M. Miles; honorable mention, Gladys R. Flint.

The other meetings of the Society during the year have been as follows:

October 30, 1918, annual meeting at the residence of Mrs. William G. Farlow, at which a paper was read by Mr. George G. Wright on "The Schools of Cambridge, 1800–1870."

April 22, 1919, spring meeting in the Paine Memorial Room of the Episcopal Theological School, at which papers were read by Mr. Lewis M. Hastings on "The Streets of Cambridge — Some Account of Their Origin and History," and by Mr. J. Gardner Bartlett on the "English Ancestral Homes of the Founders of Cambridge."

On June 7 at 4 P.M. a special meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. Henry D. Tudor. Mrs. Tudor read an account of the old house, Mrs. Cornelius C. Felton read a paper on "Mrs. Francis Alexander and Her Daughter," and Mr. Henry W. L. Dana, one on "Reverend Samuel Longfellow." After the papers the members had an opportunity to inspect the very interesting house (built in 1809 and occupied by the Gray family for four generations) and to take tea in the garden, enjoying a delightful afternoon.

During the past year the Society has lost by death the following regular members:

William Brewster
George Hodges
Henry Ainsworth Parker
Edward Pickering
William Read
Henry Detrick Yerxa

And by resignation, etc., the following:

Alice C. Allyn
John Herbert Barker
Vincent Ravi Booth
Woodman Bradbury

Eugene Abraham Darling
Martha Elizabeth Driver
Warner Foote Gookin
John Winthrop Platner
Clara Burnham Platner

The following new members have been elected:

Joseph Gardner Bartlett
Elizabeth French Bartlett
Helen Chapin Bosson
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana
Albert Perley Norris
Louisa Phelps Parker
Margaret Brooks Robinson
Rose Sherman
Katharine Coolidge Wheeler
Horatio Stevens White
Fannie Gott White

The regular membership of the Society now stands almost at the full quota of 200.

The Council has met four times during the year — on November 30, March 1, May 17 and October 21 — with an average attendance of five.

Besides the preparations for general meetings and other routine matters, a proposal has been made for re-naming the new West Boston Bridge as the "Longfellow Bridge," and some progress has been made in interesting city authorities in the proposal.

A vote to secure a set of photographs of Cambridge Common as it appeared while occupied by the barracks of the Naval Radio School resulted not only in a set of photographs especially taken, but also in the gift from Lieutenant-Commander Nathaniel F. Ayer (in charge of the school) of a very complete set of over 100 official photographs of all phases of naval activity in Cambridge — certainly one of the most interesting local results of the great war and well worth preserving.

The need of a good index to the two printed volumes of the early records of Cambridge has been much felt, and it has been thought well worth while to include such an index with the index of Paige's *History of Cambridge* now practically completed. Mrs. Gozzaldi and Mr. Edes have been appointed a committee with full powers to carry out this plan.

The Council, with much regret, finds itself deprived of the long and valuable services of Hollis Russell Bailey, Esq., a charter member, and one of our vice-presidents, whose removal to Andover makes him ineligible for active membership, under a most regrettable by-law. We shall miss his constant attendance at meetings and his great practical helpfulness.

The Council has also lost seriously by the death of the Reverend George Hodges, in his third year as a member of that body.

On October 22, 1907, Henry Herbert Edes, Esq., was elected Treasurer of the Society. After twelve years of continuous and successful administration of this most important department, he now resigns his post, followed by the thanks and appreciation of all who realize its responsible and exacting duties.

SAMUEL F. BATCHELDER,
Secretary

Cambridge, 28 October, 1919.

Voted to accept the above report and refer it to the Committee on Publications.

In the absence of the Curator, his report was presented and summarized by Mr. William C. Lane.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

I beg to submit herewith a list of the additions to the Society's collection from October 29, 1918, to October 28, 1919.

ADDITIONS TO THE SOCIETY'S COLLECTION FOR 1918–1919

AMERICAN IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
Journal. Vol. 17 (1918).

BROOKLINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 30, 1919.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
Collections. Vol. 17. Hartford, 1918.

DRIVER, MISS ELIZABETH.
Revolutionary cannon ball found in Dr. S. W. Driver's garden at 55 Brattle Street, Cambridge.

Edes, Henry H.

Register of the Charlestown Schools, 1847–1873: High-Winthrop, by James E. Stone. Boston, 1918.

Register of the Charlestown Men in the Service during the Civil War, by James E. Stone. Boston, 1919.

Eliot, Christopher R.

Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith and the Rev. Samuel Deane, by William Willis. Portland, 1849.

Gozzaldi, Mrs. Silvio M.

The Dayspring from on High, edited by Emma F. Cary. Boston, 1893.

Discourses, by Edward H. Hall. Boston, 1892.

Ten Lectures on Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Christian Church. Boston, 1883.

Verses, by Louisa J. Hall. Cambridge, 1892.

The Early Writings of Montaigne, and Other Papers, by Grace Norton. New York, 1904.

Death and Life, by Mary G. Ware. Boston, 1864.

Lectures on the Works and Genius of Washington Allston, by William Ware. Boston, 1852.

Sketches of European Capitals, by William Ware. Boston, 1851.

Illinois State Historical Library.

Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library. Nos. 24, 25.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society Vol. 10, nos. 3, 4, and Index; vol. 11, nos. 1, 2 (1917–18).

Indiana State Library.

Indiana Historical Society Publications. Vol. 6, nos. 3, 4; vol. 7, nos. 3, 4.

Kansas State Historical Society.

Collections. Vol. 14 (1915–18). Topeka, 1918.

Kennedy, Mrs. Elizabeth.

4 silver spoons.

Lancaster County (Pa.) Historical Society.

Papers read before the Society. Vol. 22, nos. 7–10; vol. 23, nos. 1–6 (1918–1919).

Louisiana Historical Society.

Publications. Vol. 10. New Orleans, 1918.

Medford Historical Society.

Historical Register. Vol. 21, no. 4 (1918); vol. 22, nos. 1–3 (1919).

Minnesota Historical Society.

Minnesota History Bulletin. Vol. 2, no. 8 (1918); vol. 3, nos. 1, 2 (1919).

20th Biennial Report, for the years 1917–1918.

State Historical Society of Missouri.

Missouri Historical Review. Vol. 13, nos. 2–4 (1919).

New Jersey Historical Society.

Proceedings. New Series, vol. 3, nos. 2–4 (1918).

New York Public Library.

Bulletin. Vol. 22, nos. 9–12 (1918); vol. 23, nos. 1–8 (1919).

New York State Library.

State Library Bulletin — History series. Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12.

Calendar of the Sir William Johnson Manuscripts, compiled by Richard E. Day. Albany, 1909.

Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts, translated and edited by A. J. F. van Laer. Albany, 1908.

Minutes of the Commissioners for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York. Albany County Sessions, 1778–1781. Edited by V. H. Paltsits. 3 vols. Albany, 1909–10.

Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York. Administration of Francis Lovelace. Edited by V. H. Paltsits. 2 vols. Albany, 1910.

Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York; published by the State under the supervision of Hugh Hastings. 6 vols. Albany, 1901–05.

Military minutes of the Council of Appointment of the State of New York, 1783–1821; compiled and edited by Hugh Hastings. 4 vols. Albany, 1901–02.

New York University — Division of Archives and History. Proceedings at the Unveiling of a Memorial to Horace Greeley at Chappaqua, N. Y., February 3, 1914. Albany, 1915.

Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly. Vol. 27, no. 4 (1918); vol. 28, nos. 1–3 (1919).

Oregon Historical Society.

Quarterly. Vol. 19, nos. 3, 4 (1918); vol. 20, nos. 1, 2 (1919).

Pennsylvania Society. New York City.

Year book for 1919.

Philadelphia Commercial Museum.

Report of the Philadelphia Museums for the years 1916 and 1917.

Saunders, Miss Mary E.

Autumn leaves; original pieces in prose and verse [edited by Anne W. Abbot]. Cambridge, 1853.

Schenectady County Historical Society.

Historical Sketches and Points of Interest in Schenectady. (1918).

Shaw, Miss Josephine MacC.

Three documents relating to the estate of Mrs. Elizabeth Craigie.

Photograph of a miniature of Mrs. Elizabeth Craigie.

Newspaper clipping relating to Mrs. Craigie's present of sixty badges to Engine Company No. 1.

Stone, William E.

Gregory Stone Genealogy, by J. Gardner Bartlett. Boston, 1918.

United States. Library of Congress.

Report of the Librarian of Congress for the year ending June 30, 1918.

University of Toronto Library

Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada. Index to vols. XI–XX (Toronto, 1918); vol. 22, 1917–18 (Toronto, 1919).

Virginia Historical Society.
Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 27, nos. 1, 2 (1919).
Virginia State Library.
Bulletin. Vol. 11, nos. 1–2 (1918).
Washington University State Historical Society.
Washington Historical Quarterly. Vol. 10, nos. 2, 3 (1919).
Wilder, Frank G.
Order of exercises at the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Shepard Sabbath School, February 14, 1864.
Willard, Miss Susanna.
Augustus Willard, 1776–1799; his diary of three months in Spain. Cambridge, 1919.
Wisconsin Archeological Society.
The Wisconsin Archeologist. Vol. 17, no. 3 (1918); vol. 18, nos. 1, 2 (1919).
State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
Wisconsin Magazine of History. Vol. 2, nos. 2–4 (1918–19); vol. 3, no. 1 (1919).
Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society. Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Proceedings and Collections. Vol. 16 (1918?).

Edward L. Gookin,
Curator

Cambridge, 28 October, 1919.

Voted to accept the Curator's report and refer it to the Committee on Publications.

The Treasurer presented the following report, accompanied by the certificate of the auditor, Professor Fred N. Robinson:

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Cash Account

In obedience to the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of the Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1918–19.

RECEIPTS

Balance, 28 October, 1918			$622.84
Admission fees		$24.00	
Annual assessments: Regular members	$567.00		
Associate members	10.00	577.00	

Interest		16.66	
Society's publications sold		1.75	
Helen Leah Reed: Contribution toward Index of Paige's *History of Cambridge*		5.00	624.41
			$1,247.25

DISBURSEMENTS

McCarter & Kneeland, printing notices of meetings, etc.		$42.50	
University Press, printing, postage, binding, addressing and mailing		166.82	
Lowell Centenary Celebration, 22 February, 1919:			
Addison C. Getchell & Son, circulars, tickets and engraving cards	$122.10		
Richard H. Jones, services in reporting the proceedings	10.00		
Charles F. Mason, bursar, expenses at Sanders Theatre	40.06		
Hollis R. Bailey, personal disbursements	2.60		
Percy MacKaye, viaticum	27.00		
Mary M. Twomey, essay on Lowell 1st Prize	15.00		
Ruth M. Miles, " " " 2d Prize	10.00	253.76	
Conveyancers Title Insurance Company, stationery		2.00	
Harvard College Library, hardware for case		1.27	
John H. Thurston, 15 lantern slides and rent of 5 slides, 22 April, 1919		9.25	
Sarah L. Patrick, typewriting reports, papers and envelopes		11.00	
Elsie E. Minton, clerical services rendered the treasurer		25.00	
Edward L. Gookin, services as Curator for the years 1918 and 1919		50.00	
Samuel F. Batchelder, stenographic expenses, etc.		32.05	
Postage		6.00	$599.65
Balance in National Shawmut Bank, 25 October, 1919			647.60
			$1,247.25

On retiring to-night from the treasurership of the Society, which I have had the honor to hold during the past twelve years, I embrace the opportunity to express to the members my appreciation of the confidence they have reposed in me by repeated reëlection to office, and to assure them that my interest in the Society and its work will suffer no abatement in consequence of my withdrawal from the Board of Government.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer

Cambridge, 28 October, 1919.

Voted that the Treasurer's report be accepted and referred to the Committee on Publications.

On motion of ex-president Dana it was

Voted that the special thanks of the Society be extended to Henry Herbert Edes, Esq., for his sterling and valuable services as treasurer.

Mr. Spalding for the Nominating Committee reported the following list of nominations:

President	William Roscoe Thayer
Vice-Presidents	Andrew McFarland Davis Worthington Chauncey Ford Henry Herbert Edes
Secretary	Samuel Francis Batchelder
Treasurer	Francis Webber Sever
Curator	Edward Locke Gookin

Council

Samuel Francis Batchelder	Edward Locke Gookin
Frank Gaylord Cook	Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
Richard Henry Dana	William Coolidge Lane
Andrew McFarland Davis	Alice Mary Longfellow
Henry Herbert Edes	Fred Norris Robinson
Worthington Chauncey Ford	Francis Webber Sever

William Roscoe Thayer

Voted to accept the report of the Nominating Committee.

On motion of Professor William Morris Davis

Voted that the Secretary cast only one ballot for officers.

The President declared the above persons to be duly elected as officers for 1919–1920.

After brief remarks by the President he introduced the Reverend Percy H. Epler, D.D., of Methuen, who read the following paper.

ELIAS HOWE, JR., INVENTOR OF THE SEWING MACHINE

1819–1919

A Centennial Address

Born in a Cradle of Invention

The succession of master minds in a particular locality compels us to believe in the spiritual consanguinity of genius. It is an heredity much greater than that of blood. It is an heredity of spirit,

that second birth that is not flesh-born but spirit-born. Especially do we need the transmission of its influence in America and in New England today. With such a reflex action upon us today of geniuses of yesterday, America celebrates the centennials of founders, authors and creators; and with this motive, we celebrate the birth of the inventor of the sewing machine, Elias Howe, Jr., born in the hills of Spencer at the Commonwealth's heart, July 9, 1819, one hundred years ago. Though born but 27 years before, Howe patented, September 10, 1846, 73 years ago, the completed creation of his genius, a mechanism that revolutionized industry — the sewing machine, invented in Cambridge.

The *New York Independent* said not long ago that within the last 100 years no ten names could be assembled in one zone, greater than those of the ten master minds who sprang within a radius of ten miles of Worcester. Close upon us, in addition to that of Clara Barton, founder of the Red Cross, are the centenaries of two of these great internationally famous creators, born a century ago, and within a few miles of one another. Within a month of the centenary of Elias Howe, occurred the centenary of William T. G. Morton of Charlton, discoverer of ether. Morton was also born on a Worcester County farm in 1819, the same year as Howe, and in the same year, 1846, he patented his famous discovery. In the same years of like starvation and poverty from 1843 to 1846 that Howe worked up the steps to his invention, Morton worked up to his masterpiece of anaesthesia. These two Worcester County boy neighbors, thus each 27 at the climax of their creations, were each under twenty-five when their great ideas captured their vision at the same time.

There are external ways of immortalizing that appeal to the eyegate of every passer-by — to every lad driving the cows home, and to every flashing auto. One is in "marked" birthplaces. The Howe Memorial Association has marked the birthplace of the Howe inventors — two miles out of Spencer, 15 feet back of two threshold stones that stand semi-exedra style, with doorstep base and slanting pillar indented *in perpetuo* with bronze plate. Here are the very steps trodden by the feet of the barefoot Howe boys. There were eight children in the family. Today the mill pond sings through the sluices across the road and rumbles through the broken iron gauges of the old mills. Three of these whirred their flanges there. Beside the old house, a perfect stone raceway allows the water to escape

in a tempting, rippling trout brook that gurgles from back in the forest.

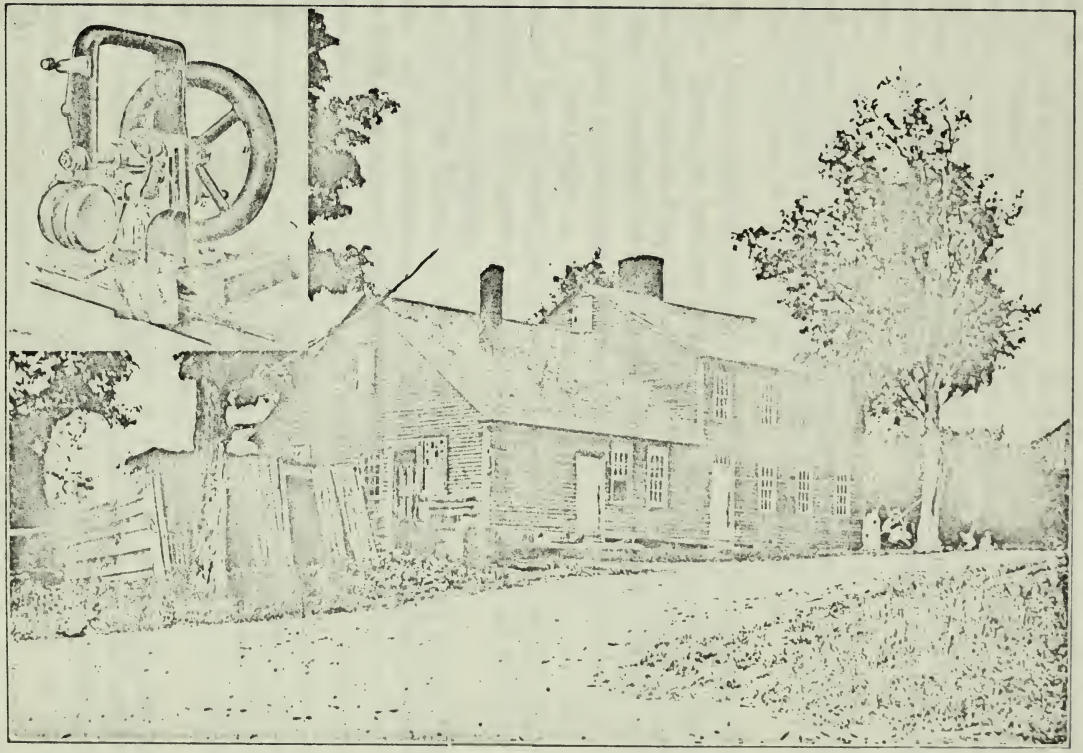
Already inventive streams had been strong in the family blood, blending three-fourths Bemis and one-fourth Howe. Captain Edward Bemis in 1745 commanded a Massachusetts company. When the French in retreat spiked their guns, on the inspiration of the moment he invented a way to drop out the spikes by heating and expanding the metal through building fires under them. In the home settlement, by the little dams and waterfalls challenging Yankee invention, machines for shoe pegs and other devices were long since made by the other members of the family. By the time the older Howe family in the late seventeen hundreds walked over those stone steps that now make the "markers," they were manufacturing grist and sawn lumber in three crude mills opposite the house. Here were made all of the simple essentials for bringing up a Puritan Yankee family — grist for bread, and lumber for shelter, and shingles, and cider, perhaps over one-half of one per cent, a proportion not unknown to the earliest Puritans.

In the smaller wing of the old house, dating from the seventeen hundreds, were born Elias Howe, Jr.'s father's two brothers, William, the fifth son, and Tyler, the fourth son. William was the inventor of the truss bridge. Unlike Elias, his nephew, it was later in life that William Howe had caught this fever for invention. He was then an inn keeper of a tavern standing till 1871, being a carpenter and builder also. In October, 1919, in an original letter from Richard Hawkins, a family connection at Springfield, came to me this authoritative sketch of him:

William Howe, who invented the celebrated Howe Truss Bridge in 1838 or 1839, was born in Spencer, Mass., May 12, 1803. He was a carpenter and builder and while erecting a church in Warren, Mass., which required a roof of some length, he conceived and built it under the system which has since been known as the Howe Truss. He afterwards built a bridge by the same system, about 60 feet long, in West Warren. At that time the Western Railroad was extended westerly from Springfield across the Connecticut River, a series of 7 spans of about 180 ft. each, single track.

He patented the bridge system in 1840 and it was once renewed. From that time to his death he had no other business but to sell rights to the patent. He received a large amount of money for its use by railroads and private parties, who bought all the state rights. As they were mostly his relatives, the business became a family affair.

The system was based on a combination of vertical rods of iron and



BIRTHPLACE OF ELIAS HOWE, JR., SPENCER, MASS.
WITH ORIGINAL MODEL OF SEWING MACHINE

vertical wood braces with top and bottom chords of timber. The plan was so easily figured for strain loads, and so safe and correct in principle, that the bridge became almost universal for railroads and towns, and was largely used in foreign countries. Major-Gen. Whistler, who built the Western Railroad and afterwards built the railroad from Moscow to St. Petersburg, used the Howe Bridge in its construction. The Long Bridge, so-called (later taken down) at Washington, was of the same design.

There have never been any changes made in the original design except that the angle block formerly made of wood was changed to iron by Mr. Howe.

The bridge or truss system continues to be used in roof trusses and small spans, but the modern loads are so much increased that it has become impracticable to use the combination of the wood and iron, and iron bridges have become necessary for work of any magnitude.

Mr. Howe's residence after his invention was in Springfield, Mass.

Tyler Howe, his brother (1800–1880), who had gone in a Pacific Ocean boat upon a disappointed quest for gold in California, hit upon the idea of a spring bed to take the place of the rigid berths in which he had been tossed about while on the vessel. He showed it to A. G. Pear of Cambridge in San Francisco in 1853. Then in 1855 he patented the elliptical spring bed and opened a successful factory in Cambridge. His house is still standing back of those old mill sites of his father near Spencer.

In 1819 Elias Howe, Jr., was born in the larger wing of the birthplace. By the time he was six he joined the older children in sticking wire teeth into strips of leather for carding cotton. Making easier the monotonous drudgery, there was a genius in the place architectonic with invention. The buzz of mill wheels filled the air in which Elias became acquainted with the elements of machinery, so far as known, and with machine tools. He absorbed an atmosphere kinetic with ingenuity. In 1866 he told James Parton that he was of the opinion that this early experience gave his mind its bent.

After five years of this struggle, as early as eleven, his Spartan father "bound him out" in 1830 to a neighboring farmer till the time of his apprenticeship should be over and he could return wearing his "freedom suit." But he was inclined to lameness from his birth, and he returned at twelve to stay home till sixteen.

The biographer, James Parton, who knew Howe so well, describes him, while congenitally lame, as a regular boy, curly headed, though a bit undersized, fond of jokes, and not over able or over fond of grinding from candle light to candle light on a hard-scrabble farm. Later

he must have outgrown some of these traits, as his daughter, Jane R. Caldwell, wrote to me from New York, September 28, 1909, as to Parton's descriptions as follows: "My family and I are far from satisfied with the impressions given of my father's early life and character, which was full of purpose." However, Parton was right in his general psychoanalysis of his friend. Each of these characteristics could be true, one of the natural fun-loving human boy, the other of the controlled man chastened by suffering and responsibility and struggle. One would think more of him because he was no abnormal, mechanical crank, but thoroughly human.

In 1835, four years after his return home, he drifted to Lowell where he had heard of the vast cotton machine shops. But the sixteen-year-old mill hand lost his place in the panic of 1837. Then the "bobbin boy," N. P. Banks, his cousin, and later governor, Speaker of the House and Civil War general, took Elias' arm and drew him to Cambridge to a hemp-carding machine shop of a Professor Treadwell. The two boys in greasy jumpers and overalls worked side by side and roomed together.

At this critical age of awakening, no doubt Banks's aspirations could not but have been creative of ambition in Elias. From this time too, William Howe, the landlord of the sleepy tavern, who awakened just before 1840 to his inventive dreams of bridging the streams of the world and carrying railways on his spans through Europe, must also have stirred the imagination of Elias.

The Vision of a Sewing Machine

At 18, late in 1837, Elias Howe as journeyman entered a machine shop at 11 Cornhill, Boston, kept by Daniel Davis. Howe's employer manufactured optical instruments and was noted as a skilled repairer of intricate mechanical inventions. Elias himself made little improvements and worked at a bench and lathe, often hearing snatches of conversations of inventors who came in to talk over their half-finished machines.

After three years at the machine shop, in 1840, he was only getting $9.00 a week. But he married, on this salary of a dollar and a quarter a day. To support the wife and the family of three children coming on, one after another, put the boy husband under pressure. It almost crushed him. After work he was hardly able to get up from

the bed upon which he threw himself supperless and worn, only wishing, as he told James Parton afterward, "to lie there forever and ever."

In 1842, when Howe was now twenty-three years old, and had been in the shop five years, there came in an inventor of a little knitting machine that would not work. With the inventor was a promoter of the machine, the man who was his financial backer. Mr. Asa Davis, brother of Daniel, explained his plans were not complete, but he would make the model when perfected.

"Why don't you make a sewing machine?" asked Asa Davis, dissuading the man from wasting his time on a knitting machine.

"It can't be done," snapped the financial backer.

"Yes, it can. The man that can make a machine that will sew, will earn his everlasting fortune."

When Howe went home to Cambridge that night, his untapped reservoirs of inventive energy were pierced. No longer dormant from exhaustion, he mused upon the declared impossible invention. He could not dismiss the challenge from his awakened mind till his ingenuity grasped at an idea. "Thomas," he exclaimed the next morning to his fellow journeyman mechanic at the next bench and lathe, "I have gotten an idea of a sewing machine!"

In the meantime Howe's wife took in sewing to eke out. Lying supperless in bed after the exhausting day's work, his eye saved him from dropping off by following the motion of her arm. He was trying to discover a way to imitate it in an arm of wood and steel. What he would save if he could! He often imitated Mrs. Howe's arm movements. The mania of invention seized him deeper and deeper and would not let him rest. Thence, day and night, he aimed to materialize the ideas burrowing in his inventive imagination. Then in 1843 he set to work to make a machine to take the place of the human hand. Night after night he whittled upon models till morning. Nothing but piles of whittlings were the result. It would not work.

The Crisis of the Invention — The Needle with an Eye at the Point

He was halted at the needle's eye. Should it be a needle pointed at both ends with the eye in the middle, working up and down, thrusting the thread through each time? Through many nights of experiment he tried it. No — it would not work!

Then why not another stitch using two threads, a shuttle and a curved needle? But where pierce the eye in the needle? Why not try it at the front end?

He cut coils of wire. He grooved them on one side with a pair of steel dies. He left in the middle a raised edge. With highly tempered steel at the needle's end, he drilled an eye. Then he inserted it in the crude whittled model. His contemporary, Parton, describes the moment thus: "One day in 1844, the thought flashed upon him — is it necessary that a machine *should* imitate the performance of the hand? May there not be another stitch? Here came the crisis of the invention, because the idea of using two threads, and forming a stitch by the aid of a shuttle and a curved needle with the eye near the point soon occurred to him. He felt that he had invented a sewing machine. It was in the month of October, 1844, that he was able to convince himself, by a rough model of wood and wire, that such a machine as he had projected, would sew."

The miracle of the sewing machine was achieved!

There is a remarkable letter which I have discovered from the living eyewitness and coworker on the original model. It is one that catches the invention at its birth from the worker at Howe's elbow on the next lathe at the very hour of invention. It has lain in the hands of Dr. Alonzo Bemis of Spencer. It is as follows:

Dec. 8, 1910.
Madisonville, Ohio.

Dr. Alonzo A. Bemis.
Dear Sir:

Probably I am the only man living who was with Howe when he invented it (the sewing machine) and worked on the model. In the year 1839, I went to work for Daniel Davis, philosophical instrument maker, at No. 11 Cornhill, Boston, Mass. Mr. Davis was the father of Daniel Davis, of Princeton. Elias Howe was then working for Mr. Davis as a journeyman. His bench, and lathe, was next to mine. Mr. Davis' shop was headquarters for all kinds of geniuses, inventors, etc. One day there came a man into the shop who wanted Davis to make a knitting machine. Mr. Asa Davis, brother of Mr. Daniel Davis, talked the plans over and said to the man: "Your plans are not complete. Perfect your invention and I will make the model." Asa remarked that if anybody could make a good, practical sewing machine a woman could use, there would be a fortune in it. That remark stuck in Elias' head. The next morning, he said to me, "Thomas, I have gotten an idea of a sewing machine."

Howe did not rest until he perfected the machine. He made a very

coarse model but in that model was the embryo of all the sewing machines made to this day, and that was, pushing the *eye* of the needle through the cloth, instead of the *point*. In my leisure moments, I would work the machine with Howe. Everybody discouraged him. We found great trouble in passing a thread through the loop so as to lock the thread. When he conceived the idea of a shuttle, the sewing machine was practical.

Yours respectfully,

THOMAS HALL (85 yrs. old)

"I should like," adds Dr. Alonzo Bemis, "to correct an error which has found its way into the press on many occasions — that is: that the idea of the needle came to Elias Howe in a dream. This is not true. Mr. Howe was too much of a Yankee to place any dependence in dreams and the needle idea was worked out by careful thought and countless experiments."

After working upon the model, assisted sometimes by his fellow-mechanic, Thomas Hall, who tells us of it so interestingly, Howe found the increasing toil and increasing family and increasing expense upon the model too overwhelming a burden. With no money at hand to develop his invention, he turned to his father.

Elias Howe, Sr., had by this time left Spencer and moved to Cambridge. The inventive ingenuity of Tyler Howe, the one of his brothers who later invented the spring bed, had invented a system of cutting Palm Beach leaf for hat manufacture. Elias Howe, Jr.'s father, came to conduct the factory. This factory was at 740 Main St., Cambridge, below Lafayette Square. This "incubator of invention" is still standing, a plain three-story brick affair. It was then called the Palm Beach Hat Factory, later Howe's Spring Bed Factory. It has been a very nest of genius. Here the three Howes carried into materialization their developing dreams of the truss bridge, the spring bed, and the sewing machine. Here at times Morse worked on the telegraph, and Elias Howe made batteries and magnets at $1.25 a day. Here Graham Bell, after 1872, struggled with the invention of the telephone; and here John McTammany, who was working on the voting machine and the pneumatic tabulating system, disclosed his vision to invent a player piano, and with the inventor's urge came from the Howes' home at Spencer and worked it out.

Into his father's house in Cambridge in November, 1844, Elias Howe, Jr., removed his family and put his lathe and few machinist's

tools into the garret, where he worked desperately hard, concentrating himself upon the model, yet rough and coarse. For the design must be made, he knew, into "iron and steel with the finish of a clock." At this time the Palm Beach factory burned out, and Elias Howe, Jr., with an invention in his head ready to revolutionize the world's industry, was blocked.

Here crops up an old Spencer friend, George Fisher. He was a schoolmate. Now he was a small coal and wood dealer in Cambridge. But in December, 1844, Fisher asked Howe with his family into his own house, and let him put his lathe under the slanting eaves in the garret. Besides, he loaned his old Spencer schoolmate $500 for which he would receive one half interest in the patent, if successful. He was one of the unknown soldiers of invention, the romance of whose chivalry was equal to that of the Yale friend who financed, and at the cost of his life saved, Eli Whitney. "I was the only one of his neighbors and friends in Cambridge that had any confidence in the success of the invention," Fisher declared. "Howe was generally looked upon as very visionary in undertaking anything of the kind and I was thought very foolish in assisting him."

To this centennial celebration, October, 1919 — to this house on Brattle Street where Worcester wrote the Dictionary — has come a lady, the daughter of this chivalrous friend, to confirm the facts of his friendship.[1]

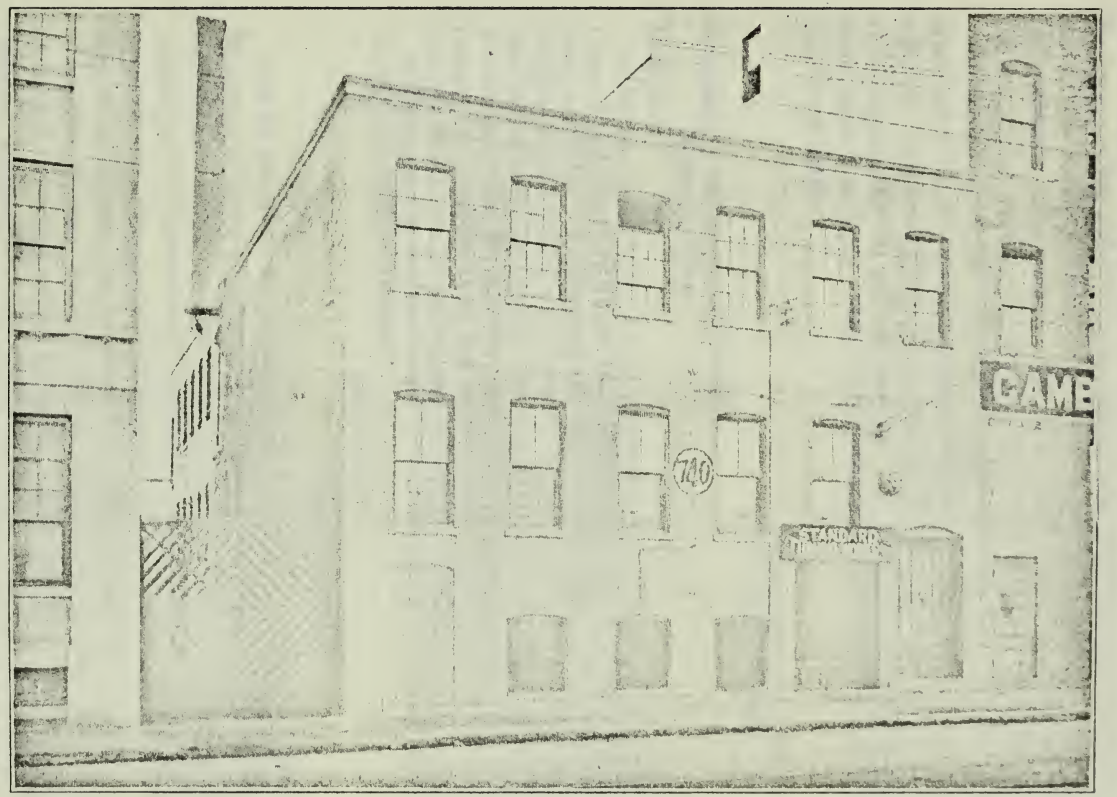
Winter passed. But here by April, 1845, the steel model grew into form. The needle shot through the cloth, sewing a perfect seam. By May it was complete, and in July he sewed two suits of clothes.

The Victory over Labor Mobs

Starvation near his door and the $500 of George Fisher exhausted, Howe could now manufacture his machine for sale — if it would sell. To do this, he asked a practical Boston tailor to Cambridge to test it by sewing. All at once the whole company of tailors in Boston rose up against the labor-saving device, crying out, "It will make us beggars by doing away with hand sewing!" For ten years they opposed Howe fiercely.

Howe would not be intimidated. He did not flinch. He would test the sewing machine before the world. He arranged to have a two

[1] Mrs. Austin C. Wellington (Sarah Cordelia Fisher).



740 MAIN STREET, CAMBRIDGE
"AN INCUBATOR OF INVENTION"

weeks' daily demonstration by himself at Quincy Hall Clothing Factory, sewing 250 stitches a minute and beating five of the fastest seamstresses, each doing a seam while he did five of the equal length, faster, neater and stronger. But as a result of violent opposition and the cost of the machine to manufacture, not a machine was ordered!

In the spring of 1846, starvation again stared him in the face, and frail and worn, he tried his hand as engineer at the throttle of a locomotive. But health failed him and he broke under the strain. He tried desperately to sell the model. To testify to this, an original eyewitness is at hand. It is Luther Stephenson of Hingham Center. His letter reads:

Hingham Center, Mass.
Oct. 7, 1910.

Chairman of the Board of Selectmen,
Spencer, Mass.

Dear Sir:

About the year 1846, I was employed in the store of Stephenson, Howard and Davis at No. 72 Water Street, Boston, the head of the firm being my father. I remember one afternoon Mr. Howe came to the store, bringing a model of his sewing machine for the inspection of the firm with the view of enlisting them in the manufacture of the same. The model was smaller than the machine now in use and was operated by a crank instead of a treadle as at the present time. This machine Mr. Howe brought as his own invention, and as original with him.

No arrangement was made with him by the firm for manufacturing the machine for business reasons.

Yours truly,
LUTHER STEPHENSON

Yet in his effort to introduce his machine, in his fight with the blindness of labor agitators, Howe won where other would-be inventors of the sewing machine failed because of exactly this same blind opposition to labor-saving machinery. This crushed Thomas Saint upon the eve of his success in England in 1790. This crushed Thimonnier of St. Etienne, France, upon the eve of his discovery in 1830.

In 1790, Thomas Saint patented a machine for sewing leather with a threaded awl with a hole in the point. A mob of glove makers, blindly enraged against this labor-saving machine, scrapped and smashed it.

Thimonnier in 1830 made eighty machines for stitching gloves, a sewing machine all but the feed. Thimonnier's needle, hooked at the end, descended through the cloth. It brought up the loop through a

previously made loop and formed a chain in the upper surface of the fabric. A furious mob attacked his machines just as the government gave him war orders for his eighty models. Thimonnier they nearly murdered. In 1845 he patented it. He tried again in 1848, but the Revolution wrecked his plans. In 1851 he tried in London before the exposition. No notice was taken of his machine and he went home to France to die in the poorhouse in 1857.

In 1832, Walter Hunt in New York, in an alley in Abingdon Square, worked to invent a sewing machine and hit upon the shuttle to form the stitch. But it would not sew, and discouraged, he threw it into the rubbish heap in a garret on Gold Street.

What was it in Elias Howe that would not allow him to be crushed like Saint, Thimonnier and Hunt? It was Spencer's New England fighting blood and individual worth ingrained after generations from the blood of the sires. His was a victory over a phase of labor agitation that sought to own the laborer and kill the invention of his brain.

Howe met this crisis. All the hoots of labor mobs in the world could not floor him. He did not quail. He owned himself. They could not own him. Labor's contention today is, the laborer must own himself. It is not only capital that endangers self-ownership. There are kinds of labor agitation that would deny the mechanic's owning himself. And whenever this happens, labor just as much as capital should not be feared but conquered — and Howe conquered. Challenged at this crisis of labor, son of Spencer, he owned himself. Had he not, as with the others, he would have failed to invent the sewing machine.

Many also derided the invention as a folly. They never thought it would sew. This one thing prevented mob violence by the tailors against Howe. We all know Langley's airplane models of 1896, 1898, and 1903 lay in a Washington museum. They never flew because Langley was crushed by people laughing at him. Yet Glenn Curtis with some changes flew them over Washington.

Elias Howe's manhood was such that to none of these three things did he yield — mob violence, hardship or laughter. This stands as his greatest tribute, for it marks the man as well as the inventor.

The Battle with Capital and Infringement

In the midst of these rebuffs of fortune, Howe for four months buried himself again at work in Fisher's attic in Cambridge, and he made another machine. It was a model design, which he carried to Washington, where September 10, 1846, seventy-three years ago, it was approved and patented. But Washington people, when he exhibited it at a great fair, laughed at it as only a mechanical toy.

Fisher had now spent $2000, and declares, "I had lost all confidence in the machine's paying anything." With nowhere else to go but the curb, Elias went back to his father's house with his family. In October he induced his father to send Amasa Howe across the Atlantic to England.

William Thomas of Cheapside was a somewhat chesty manufacturer employing 500 persons at making corsets, umbrellas, valises, shoes, etc. Amasa Howe offered him the machine. It did not take him long to decide. Thomas saw it was the crude beginning of a vast enterprise. For 250 pounds, $1250, Amasa guilelessly sold him the machine and the right to use all he wanted and to patent it in England, paying three pounds royalty. He never paid at all. Thomas made a million dollars by 1867, for he had induced Amasa to beguile Elias across the sea in order to adapt the machine to corsets. February 5, 1847, Elias, pressed financially, sailed for England, to be joined by his wife and three children, whose passage Thomas paid.

As we behold the flying arm of steel in the sewing machine, we can never forget that, carbonized into it, is not only the genius of the inventor, but the sacrifice of a suffering woman — Howe's loyal wife. In eight months, at only ten dollars a week, Howe made the adaptation of this machine to corsets. At this point, having got out of him all he wanted, Thomas degraded Howe to petty repairs — the beginning of the end. At this snubbing by the English snob, the American of Spencer forebears arose hot in Howe's veins and he said, "*I am poor, but will not kneel to one who treads your soil.*"

The selling of an inventor's brain to capital which alone can thenceforth own the rights is a pawning of the laborer — wrong then and wrong now. I mean by this, the signing over forever of the invention the laborer may make. It keeps him from owning himself and his brain. But the injustice of the capitalist could not crush Howe any more than the injustice of labor. He kowtowed neither to the mob nor the snob.

Comes now another piece of human clay who had a spark in the clod, Charles Inglis, a coach maker. As in George Fisher, Howe in him found human kindness. With his family in three small rooms furnished by Inglis, he proceeded to construct his fourth machine. He was driven to the wall again. Then, forced by starvation and creditors to move into one little room in the cheapest quarters of Surrey, he decided to embark his wife and children for America. There were three children, two daughters and one son.

Inglis recalled: "Before his wife left London he had frequently borrowed money from me in sums of five pounds and requested me to get him credit for provisions. On the evening of Mrs. Howe's departure, the night was very wet and stormy and, her health being delicate, she was unable to walk. He had no money to pay the cab hire and he borrowed a few shillings from me to pay it, which he repaid by pledging some of his clothing. Some linen came home from his washerwoman for his wife and children on the day of her departure. She could not take it with her on account of not having money to pay this woman. Unable to get a wagon, Howe got a wheelbarrow to carry her trunks to the boat."

The acid of poverty ate in even more keenly after this. "He borrowed a shilling from me for the purpose of buying beans which I saw him cook and eat in his own room," added Inglis.

In four months more of the biting ignominy, Howe completed the machine, valued at $250. He could only get $25 for it in a note discounted at $20. Early in April, 1849, without enough to get home, he pawned the model of his first machine and the patent itself. Pushing his handcart of effects to the boat, he sought a job as cook in the steerage for emigrants. So he returned. Landing here four years after his first machine was made, he had but fifty cents in his pocket as reward. Hardly had he rented a cheap immigrant tenement, before he received the tidings that his wife, as a result of her faithful sufferings by his side in his struggle, was dying of consumption in Cambridge. With no means to get there, he waited for ten dollars from his father before he could reach her. He had to borrow a suit of clothes for the funeral. Downcast, bent, but not broken, he went home from the funeral to learn that the ship containing all his tools and effects had been wrecked at Cape Cod!

All was wrecked — but himself and his unconquerable soul.

Thus reduced in America as in England it would seem as if capital

had crushed him as well as labor. In his absence, notwithstanding his original model and the elemental devices he had patented, manufacturing machinists were copying his machines everywhere. With it as a basis, inventors were making machines with their own designs added, but all using at least his chief original device — the needle with the eye in the end.

How could he contest? His model was three thousand miles away in a Surrey pawn shop. Hon. Anson Burlingame, however, acting as his representative, with a hundred dollars Howe raised, redeemed his precious model from "the three balls" in the neighborhood of England's hell of London paupers.

At home, however, four leading manufacturers were infringing upon his patent.

Elias Howe's father, who had loyally sheltered his boy again and again, sprang to his aid. He mortgaged his old Spencer farm in order to have funds to win the fight. George Bliss took Fisher's one half share and advanced the money for the patent war. Rufus Choate was Howe's famous attorney. He began the patent cases in United States courts that in time involved over 30,000 pages. Choate was to win.

In 1850, in New York, Elias Howe was constructing fourteen machines at a little one-horse Gold Street shop, the very street where Hunt had cast discarded his model of a sewing machine. In time, Isaac Merritt Singer, an actor and theatre manager in New York, saw Howe's machine. At work on a carving machine himself, he took it to Boston and while there repaired a number of sewing machines on which he made, as he declared, three devices as improvements. He at once began commercializing the machines and advertising. He invented, not the machine, but the *sewing machine agent.* This proved him the greatest commercial organizer for the *sale* of machines in the world. He did much to domesticate the machine and bring down its price. Yet he was not the inventor, and suddenly Elias Howe accused him of infringing upon his patent, No. 5346. Singer contested it. Unable to prove an original model from England, France and China, he sought an earlier invention to at least supersede Howe's. He at last landed upon Hunt's machine of 1832 lying in a garret. He found Hunt, too, but Hunt could not make it run.

Everywhere Howe's patent held, in the uniform finding of the courts. In 1854 Judge Sprague of the Massachusetts Supreme Court

decided "the plaintiff's patent valid and the defendant's machine an infringement." The court concluded, "There is no evidence in this case that leaves a shadow of doubt that for all the benefits conferred upon the public by the introduction of a sewing machine, the public are indebted to Elias Howe."

This is not saying that in 1849 and 1859, Allen B. Wilson did not construct a four-motion feed for a machine with an original device, later combined with Mr. Wheeler's rotating hook and shuttle and four-motion feed, the "Wheeler & Wilson" machine. And it is not saying that Gibbs, a Virginian farmer, did not make a great invention — a machine with a revolving hook, later the "Wilcox & Gibbs." Still other firms made improvements. Over one thousand improvements have been invented.

Yet the original device stood. Howe's claim was in brief: "I claim the use of an eye pointed needle, operating in connection with a shuttle looper, loop holder, or any other device by which one thread is passed through the loop of another and a stitch is thereby secured." As to his claims, the U. S. legal conclusion awarded him "vital points far-reaching — the foundation of the whole vast machine structure for sixty years."

The sewing machine battle ended with the other great firms paying a royalty to Howe of so much a machine. Then in 1856 they combined into a joint stock company or combination to prevent further losses by lawsuits and destructive legal battles. By 1860, just before the Civil War, fifteen years after Howe's first model which he could not get one order for, there were made 116,330 machines. By 1866, there were 750,000. By 1867 the country was making a thousand machines a day. Four thousand dollars a day was passing into Howe's hands in royalties when the Civil War broke.

Beyond all financial gain, Elias Howe had made incomputable gifts to his country. In creating domestic industry and in the emancipation of woman, the sewing machine transferred labor from sewing in homes to the factory system. It founded the shoe industry. It gave millions of women work. It emancipated millions of others from painful stitching.

> It is not linen you're wearing out
> But human creatures' lives.

Hood thus sang, and when we count the stitches in one shirt we see it is so. For in each shirt there are over 20,000 stitches.

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE SUPREME SACRIFICE

Happily the touch of comedy had come into the tragedy. With undreamed-of wealth from royalties, Howe remarried. His wife was an English woman he had met in his travels — one perhaps who was a friend in need in bitter days. He established an estate at Bridgeport, next to P. T. Barnum's estate, and the two were neighbors and friends. Children that romped about this estate have been present at the 1919 centennial and record this phase of his life as a return on his part to the sunniness of his boyhood — a disposition from which he was never embittered and to which therefore he could return along the line of least resistance. There comes down to us today a gold tea-set bought at this time by Elias Howe and given to his father at his golden wedding. His picture at this stage with the fashionable mustachios and loud waistcoat of English pattern reveals a touch of the comedy and interlude in the tragedy — a bit of playtime in the afterglow. Unfortunately, in this picture, however, the interesting marks of struggle were creamed over with fuller face and figure. At this, for a moment, one fails to rejoice, for he misses the illumination born of struggle; for the great text is true — "Ye shall be illuminated — after a great fight of afflictions." An hour of re-illumination was now however to come, and "a great fight of afflictions."

It was the crisis of the Civil War.

Isaac Merrit Singer was said to be astonishing New York and London with his equipages and luxuries costing millions of dollars. Why should not Howe? War profits could be enormous. So far as doing for his country, did not his machines by rapid equipment put a million men in the field? Millions of further equipment had to be sewed — underclothes, blankets, overcoats, shoes, knapsacks, haversacks, cartridge belts, tents, balloons, harness, sails, bunting, hammocks. Was not inventing means to equip a million men with these millions of articles enough? The output of that machine reached, as we have seen, many millions of value by 1863, and 52,219 machines were used in war work alone. Sewing machines made even forts, for they made hundreds of thousands of bags to be filled with sand for their parapets. "One day," declared Parton, "during the war, at three o'clock in the afternoon an order from the War Department reached New York, by telegraph, for fifty thousand sandbags such as are needed in field works. By two o'clock the next afternoon the bags had been made and packed and shipped and started southward." In all, nineteen million dollars were saved to the country by the machines.

Was it not enough? Should Howe not have a good time like Singer, on his $4000 a day, and "play around" on his estate next P. T. Barnum's? But it was not enough for Howe. He had sacrificed his home, wife, health, sleep and food during sixteen years of suffering. Yet fourteen Bemises had been in the Revolution, eight in the Federal Army. The blood of his patriot fathers would not let him sit at ease, be a profiteer, and spend his $4000 a day. Clara Barton's "What is money without a country?" was also his grand protestation. He would give all on the altar.

He could have been exempted, not only for age and on account of producing equipment, but because of his tendency to lameness. All of his life he hid it. Concealing it again, he enlisted as a private in the Seventh Regiment Infantry, Co. D, and was not to be mustered out till July, 1865. All through life's crushing pain, he never had complained. Why now? In an original letter to me from Jane R. Caldwell, once the little daughter, she says, "I have never heard him complain in all the tribulations of his sad home. Regarding my father's lameness, though it might have troubled him at times, I never heard him complain of it and doubt that except in the event of a long march he was disqualified as a soldier. He was a man of peace, but his patriotism was great and he was willing to serve his country to the extent of his ability."

He therefore gave his own body as a humble private. He did this though he raised and equipped the regiment. Though walking himself, he presented every officer a horse. When the company had not been paid for months, Howe stopped out of the disappointed files and asked the subordinate, "What is the back pay? When is it ready?" "When the Government is ready and not before," snapped the petty paymaster. "How much is due them?" "Thirty-one thousand dollars." Howe amazed the petty officer by seizing a pen and writing a check for the whole. Then he stepped up at his own time in the file of "buck" privates and received his back pay — $28.60.

Officially, he came out with no more honor than when he went in. Really, he came out with the greatest honor mankind can bestow — the record of a Christ-like self-bestowal and death for the cause. For in 1867, though twice a millionaire, as a victim of his terrific exertion, he died of Bright's disease in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Two years after his death, in 1869, at an International Exposition, great-souled France, though its Thimonnier failed at the point of

success, at the hand of Emperor Louis, accorded Howe France's highest honor, the Cross of the Legion of Honor. At the fourth election, America, through the Committee of National Judges, elected Howe to the Hall of Fame, together with Daniel Boone and five others, the list ending with Rufus Choate, his patent attorney, who won his great cases on the patent which mark the triumph which we celebrate today — the triumph of the sewing machine.

In connection with the above paper, various portraits, documents, early models, etc., were exhibited.[1] Mrs. John Amee, a niece of Elias Howe, read some family letters. Dr. Alonzo Bemis of Spencer, the birthplace of Howe, spoke briefly. Among the members present was Mrs. Sarah Cordelia (Fisher) Wellington, daughter of George Fisher, in whose house at Cambridge the sewing machine was invented.

Mrs. Gozzaldi presented from Mrs. William B. Lambert a collection of papers on Cambridge history formerly belonging to the late John Reed, a member of the Society.

Voted that Mrs. Lambert's gift be accepted with thanks.

The meeting then adjourned.

[1] A three-quarter length portrait of Howe, painted a year or two before his death, was loaned to the Society in 1914 by his grandson, Elias Howe Stockwell. By an arrangement with the Cambridge Public Library, it is at present hung on exhibition there. (See these *Proceedings*, ix, 61, 82.)

Howe's finished model of the sewing machine is in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, but the Society has one of the earlier rough models in its collection.